JERUSALEM
PAST AND PRESENT

GAIUS GLENN ATKINS

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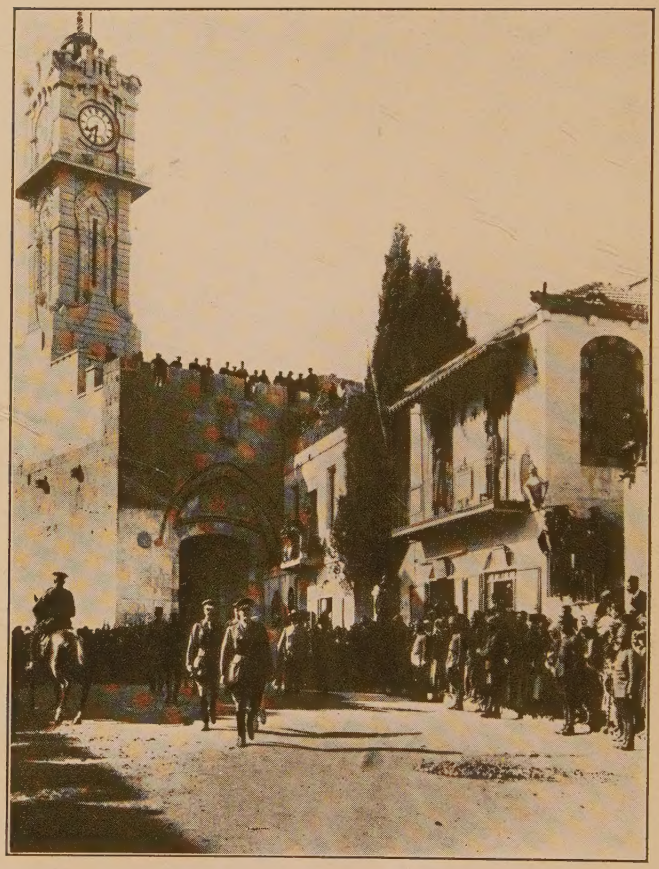

General Allenby entering Jerusalem on foot, through the Jaffa Gate.

Jerusalem Past And Present

THE CITY OF UNDYING MEMORIES

By

GAIUS GLENN ATKINS, D. D.

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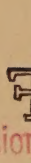

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I

Introductory

I

INTRODUCTORY

AT noon on the eighth of December, 1917, a representative of General Allenby, Commander-in-chief of the British forces operating in Palestine, received from the Mayor of Jerusalem the surrender of the city.

On December 10th, at noon, General Allenby made his official entry into the city by the Jaffa Road. As upon the occasion of another Triumphal Entry, the people threw flowers and palm-leaves in the way; and though there were no "Hosannas" shouted as to One Who came in the name of the Lord, the welcome of the populace was significant and their joy most marked.

General Allenby entered the town on foot. Small detachments of infantry and cavalry, drawn from England's far-flung battle line, were drawn up outside, while French and

Italian soldiers were marshalled inside the Jaffa gate as the Commander-in-chief, accompanied by representatives of America, France and Italy passed through it.

The breach in the wall, made for the Kaiser's entry in 1898—a breach still unrepaired—is near by. But General Allenby came in by the door. There is a profound significance in the contrasting ways in which England and Germany entered the city, for the open gate stands for order and obedience to law, while the breached wall represents pride, arrogance and force. There is, moreover, an ancient saying as to the character of those who prefer some other way of coming in than by the door.

No blood stained the streets as the Allies entered. Only one other occupation in the history of the city had been so humane and that was the entry of the Mohammedans under Omar in 637, five years after the death of their Prophet. All the world rejoiced save those who lost the city. The Jerusalem of Christ had come back to the standards of the Cross, the city of the Jew had come back

to those whom the Jew can trust, and the shrine of humanity's faith had come back to those who keep faith with humanity.

War-time prophecy is hazardous enough, but we are at least permitted to hope that Jerusalem will never again pass into Turkish hands. The Turk has no right there. His administration of Asia Minor has been a long agony of subject-peoples—a long outrage on humanity. There is nothing in the temper or the history of the Ottoman to justify his possession of a land which he has, from the first, profaned. And by so much the less ought the Holy Land to come under the control of the German-Turkish alliance. There have been earlier alliances of Turkish and Christian powers which have, in every case, been shamed by the outcome, contributing nothing but further complications to the Eastern Question ; but there has never been an alliance like the present between any Christian power and the Ottoman Turk. It was conceived in falsehood and brought forth in massacre. The blood of slaughtered Armenia cries up to God against it. Jeru-

salem must not come under that control again.

There would be a fine historical fitness in making Palestine again a Jewish State, guaranteed as to its integrity by a concert of the Christian Powers. Failing that, the country should be administered by a Power great enough to protect it, devout enough to honour its shrines, and tolerant enough to keep its gates open to all who would come in peace or reverence, for the lordship of that city is a holy trust and should be so administered. We may trace back to Jerusalem many of the ideals for which the allied nations are fighting to-day. We seek a world whose "officers shall be peace and its exactors righteousness." We would make the spirit of Jesus the dominant spirit in the contact of nations. Surely we may see with the taking of Jerusalem by the Allies, the prophecy of the triumph of the ideals we uphold. It is right that those who are most loyal to what is most true to the spirit of Jerusalem should possess the city.

The renewed interest in Jerusalem created

by the recent capture offers an occasion for some retelling of the long history of the city. Few towns in the world have had so eventful a story and none is so related to the spiritual interests of humanity. More than that the very history of Jerusalem has given character and direction to the faiths it has cradled. Humanly speaking, had its history been other than it was, the Prophets and the Psalmists would have been other than they are. Religion grows out of life as it returns upon and reshapes life. Faith and experience can never be divorced and experience gives body to faith as faith gives meaning to experience. There is no chapter in history which so proves and illustrates this as the story of Jerusalem. Judaism in any phase of its development answered to the changing fortunes of Jerusalem—though this statement must be made broad enough to include the Northern Kingdom—as a river follows the determining contours of its bed, while, in turn, this religion gave character to the history of Israel as the river wears its own channel.

The chapters which follow, then, attempt to outline the history of Jerusalem during the last forty centuries, not only for the retelling of a story which is rich in every kind of human interest but in the hope of making plain the spiritual consequences of that history both in Judaism and Christianity. We can never understand the faith and vision of the prophets of Israel, or the passion of the exile, or the fierce temper of the Jewish patriot, or the experience of Jesus, or the devotion of Christianity save as we see how all this is rooted in Jewish and early Christian history as Jewish and early Christian history became concrete in Jerusalem. There is little in the changing fortunes of this battle-scarred town since the beginning which has not passed into the region of deathless confidences, memories and hopes. This is why Jerusalem and not Rome is the true "Eternal City."

I have gathered the facts which follow from general, but I trust, dependable sources. We are all nowadays so influenced by Sir George Adam Smith in our interpretation of

Hebrew thought and the relation of history and prophecy, that it is almost superfluous to acknowledge our debt to him.

I am greatly in debt, also, to my dear friend, Edward Chapman,—himself the fine interpreter of literature in terms of the Spirit —for the entire supervision of this little book as it has gone through the press during the Author's absence from the country. The résumé of the history which faces Chapters II, III, IV and V is also from his hand.

II

Jerusalem, the Glory of the Great King

The origin of Jerusalem is unknown, but probably long antedates the entrance of Israel into Canaan. During this period it seems to have been the object of both Egyptian and Babylonian desire and influence. When the Hebrew Kingdom was organized it was a Jebusite stronghold. David captured it not far from 1000 B. C. As Israel's capital it was strengthened and beautified by Solomon. He built the Temple about the middle of the tenth century B. C. and put Jerusalem in the way of becoming the centre of Hebrew worship and religious thought. Upon the division of the kingdom about 937 B. C. Jerusalem remained the capital of Judah. Though threatened again and again during the wars of the three and a half centuries following, and besieged on several occasions, it survived the waves of Assyrian conquest that laid all Palestine under tribute in the latter half of the eighth century and overwhelmed Samaria in 721 B. C. Indeed it survived Assyria itself, and it was not until after the destruction of Nineveh in 607 B. C. that Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon utterly shattered the power of Judah in 601 B. C. and completed his work by the destruction of Jerusalem itself in 586 B. C.

II

JERUSALEM, THE GLORY OF THE GREAT KING

THE cities of a people must be always their glory or their shame; their glory if they are rich in beauty, order and high human meanings; their shame if they are ugly, sordid or lawless. For a city more than most else which men create together is the revelation of their vision and their power. The bare enumeration of a half score of cities carries us clear across recorded history and every name is a trumpet call quickening the imagination or a window through which we look down the vista of the years.

Thebes, Nineveh, Babylon, Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Venice, Florence, Paris, London, and, lo, you have spanned the centuries and gathered up millenniums in a sentence. Some of these have been the capitals of

mighty conquerors, enriched with plunder, walled with pride, cemented in blood, glorious for a little and falling into ruin with the ruin of the dynasties which built them. Some of them are remembered for builders, philosophers, scholars, poets and artists, asserting even in their decay a deathless dominance over the imagination. Some of them have been the creation of tenacious races reflecting through the centuries their culture and vitality. Some of them have stood at the crossroads of the world's commerce, built up by trade, industry and finance. Babylon and Nineveh are now but shapeless mounds on the marshy banks of rivers that long ago repossessed the sites from which they were for a little fenced out. Thebes is overlain by the drifting sands of the desert; Athens lives in her ruined remnant of the glory that was Greece. The time-worn palaces of Venice look down in sad retrospect upon the tides of the Adriatic, and Florence keeps only what may endure of the creative power of her sons of other centuries. Others of the world's great cities

are still populous and in the full tide of a mighty life, but each has been created, undone or maintained by far-flung forces and each has become a symbol of wealth or beauty, vision, folly or power.

But there is one city almost as old as Thebes, and venerable before the foundations of imperial Rome were laid, with but little beauty that man may desire it or much wealth or any commerce, high and lonely, a city which has again and again been captured and destroyed, its site plowed and sown with salt, and yet which has again and again risen deathless from her ashes. That city is Jerusalem.

Jerusalem has for 3,000 years now, rising from its gray rocks as though a part of the rock itself, been built, rebuilt and maintained by three great forces; a strong strategic position, the passionate loyalty of the peculiar people whose capital city it became, and the faith and reverence of all the Disciples of Jesus Christ.

Palestine is a limestone shoulder of Western Asia thrust 2,000 feet above the level of

the sea, between the coast of the Mediterranean and the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. It is bounded on the north by the mountains of Lebanon, on the south and southeast by the desert of Arabia and the strange desolation of the Sinaitic peninsula. It has beneath it a great depth of limestone rock of varying degrees of hardness, much worn and weathered, and because of its uneven power of resistance, broken into rough and always changing surfaces. It has above it the light drenched blue of the Syrian sky, and beyond that all which the vision of the prophet could discern as to the meanings of unseen and eternal things. This limestone shoulder, by one of those coincidences which make history, lies in the path of competing empires, hard by the crossroads where the races meet.

One can best appreciate the strategic position of Jerusalem and its surrounding territory by taking any map representing on a reasonable scale the shores of the western Mediterranean with their hinterlands, and drawing certain straight lines which, when

one has joined them, make a group of triangles. The first line should be drawn from the delta of the Nile to Babylon, the second from the delta of the Nile to Nineveh. Now Nineveh and Babylon should be joined by a third line and we have a right-angled triangle, with the Nile-Babylon line for its base, and the Nile-Nineveh line for its hypothenuse. The base is about 700 miles long, the hypothenuse 750, while the line from Babylon to Nineveh measures something like 300 miles. The hypothenuse passes through Damascus; the base runs within 50 miles of Jerusalem, and the old Semitic world is largely included within the triangle itself. What history has been made within the limits thus marked out needs all the records of Egypt, the clay tablets of Assyria and Babylon, strangely sculptured slabs, the Old and the New Testaments, the story of Alexander and Mohammed and much else to tell.

Now, draw a line from the delta of the Nile to Antioch and from Antioch one more line passing a little east of Damascus to the base line first drawn between Thebes and Baby-

lon. Jerusalem, Damascus, Tyre and Sidon, Antioch and much of the Roman Empire of Asia Minor lie within this second triangle. It also has an old and fascinating history. Now draw a line from Constantinople and the Bosphorus to the heart of the Mesopotamian valley and you have the line of imperial movement as between the West and the East; then one last line across the Mediterranean and the Islands of the Ægean from Alexandria to Constantinople; and these with your first base line from the Nile to Babylon include all the rest. One of the strategic regions of the world is thus indicated and Jerusalem is strangely and significantly included in it all. It would be impossible to maneuver an army through these territories without occupying Palestine in the course of its operations, and Palestine can never safely be held without Jerusalem. Jerusalem belongs to the meeting place of the continents and so has shared the rise and fall of empires and the stormy mutations of history. Any fortress which crowned the gray Judean rocks above these roads, worn

by the contact of ancient rival states, could not be ignored.

How long ago all this began we are just beginning to find out, for Jerusalem has a history which far antedates its possession by the Jew. "It was a city of importance in the days when Babylonish influence was felt as far west as the shores of the Mediterranean." Its very name indicates its long descent. In the early language of Canaan, "Uru meant city and Salim means peace." Uru-Salim is then the city of the God of Peace. Fifteen hundred years before Christ its rulers kept a royal state and corresponded as king to king with the Egyptian Pharaohs. At this time the city was under the influence of Babylonish culture. Abraham, when he set out from Ur of the Chaldees seeking the city which hath foundations, did not altogether go into a strange land in coming to Palestine. We do not know to what Semitic group Jerusalem belonged at this early time. There were Hittites, Jebusites and Amorites in the hill country long after the Jewish occupation of the land. We may be sure that

they fought much among themselves, for the Tel-El-Amarna tablets record among other things a petition of the king of Uru-Salim to Pharaoh, asking for help against certain enemies, Khabiri or confederates, but Pharaoh was in no position to send him aid, and Jerusalem, captured by the confederation, became in the end a Jebusite fortress. All this is very largely a matter of names, but it does at least help us to understand how ancient a stronghold Jerusalem really is, and how long ago it was that those tides of invasion and conquest, which have brought such changing fortunes to the city, really began to beat about its walls.

Our real interest in the city begins with the Hebrew invasion of Palestine. Thirteen hundred years before Christ (we cannot be too certain of dates) wandering Jewish tribes who had been long in the bitter country to the south of Palestine succeeded in crossing the Jordan and fought their way towards the uplands of Judea. They came under a great sense of divine leadership, conscious of a mission and different from all their neighbours in

the pure austerity and intensity of their religious faith. They did battle with the Canaanites for the possession of the land, defeating among others the league of the five kings of Gibeon about three miles northwest of Jerusalem, and established themselves gradually in its strongholds, coming, through the very price which they paid for it, to have such an affection for it as scarce any people has had for any land before or since. They were not able at once to conquer Jerusalem owing to the strength of its natural position. It is really a kind of citadel built by nature upon two rocks separated in olden times by a rather deep ravine. One of these is higher than the other and both fall away so sheerly on three sides as only to be taken with the instruments of ancient warfare when approached from the north and not at all easily even then. More than that, even though the lower rock were captured, there still remained above it the higher level space which had been from of old the seat of the citadel and palace.

During the confused time of the Book of

Judges while Israel was gaining a measure of national unity and was gradually being transformed from a nomadic to a field-tilling people, we catch from time to time glimpses of Jerusalem as one sees a mountain summit through changing clouds. The Jews seem to have gained a foothold in the city and to have shared it with its ancient possessors, but the records are not clear. Very likely the city shared the changing fortunes of war, now gained, now lost, but in the main held by the Jebusites. For nearly 300 years "the city was regarded by the Israelites as the 'city of the stranger,' where it was neither desirable nor safe for an Israelite to tarry." David, shepherd, poet and warrior-king, finally captured it. Those who defended the city were so contemptuous of his power and so sure of the natural strength of their position that they did not even take the trouble to put their strongest warriors upon its walls, but manned them as in scorn with the halt and the lame. David's veterans made their way up the ravines by which the city may be approached, stormed its defenses, carried

and possessed them. This probably took place during the eleventh century B. C.

Thereafter the kings of Judea made it their capital city. We have no means of knowing how large it was then or how well built. It was probably rather simply built, for the Jews were never really great builders when left to themselves; but David extended its wall, fortified it more strongly, built himself a palace and made it the religious centre of his people's life. He was not permitted to erect the temple, but he bought the threshing floor of Araunah for the site of it, prepared a place for the foundation, and set aside much treasure against the day of its building. Under Solomon, who greatly adorned Jerusalem and crowned its high place with the temple, it became the capital of a Jewish state which reached substantially from the Mediterranean to the land east of Jordan and from the desert to the crests of Mount Lebanon. It was no great empire as empires go, for the Jew was no empire builder. His power was in the region of the spirit. But the city showed and reflected the glory of

the king. The king was doubtless in debt to Egypt for the suggestion of the lines of the temple, though it had many features peculiar to the Hebrew faith and worship. It was massively built and richly adorned. Its Holy of Holies, not to be entered save by the High Priest, and then only once a year, in its silence and darkness appealed to the reverent imagination as no idol-filled shrine could ever appeal, and taught worshipping congregations a purer monotheism than any temple in that ancient world. Its outer room filled with incense deepened the spirit of worship, and its courts and altars smoky with sacrifice anticipated the purer sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, and the redemptive love of the Son of God.

Solomon reared for himself such a palace as oriental monarchs love, and filled it with the daughters of heathen kings. He brought water into the city from the valley of the Urtas, improved the roads, sent out his caravans over the ways he built for them, and "made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones."

The glory of Jerusalem as the city of the great king was all too brief. The very geography of Palestine is against national unity and Solomon embittered and divided his people by extravagance and wearing taxation. Under his successor the kingdom was divided, never thereafter to be reunited. The divided people were not strong enough to stand against either the Egyptian or the Assyrian, and, because during the centuries which follow Egypt and Assyria were much at war and the fierce kings of Mesopotamia were constantly going out on cruel expeditions, Judea was caught as the grain between the upper and nether millstones. Less than thirty years after Solomon's palace was finished, Jerusalem was attacked by the king of Egypt and both the royal and the temple treasures were carried away. The story of this conquest is written in stone in the records of Egypt. Egypt waned, and the Jew won his independence again but made a poor use of it. His chronicles thereafter are in the main only the record of wicked or incapable kings on thrones unstable as ice in a

summer sea, and of idolatry and gross moral lapses on the part of an undisciplined people. It is saved from being merely the record of a petty monarchy with all the meanness and little of the charm of the Orient only by the light of religious faith which falls across the pages of its history.

Prophecy, in the high sense of supreme spiritual insight and searching moral judgment, is the peculiar contribution of Israel to the world, a religiously creative force whose influence cannot be overestimated. "Prediction of the future," says Sir George Adam Smith, "is only a part and often a subordinate and accidental part of an office whose full function is to declare the character and the will of God. But the prophet does this in no systematic or abstract form. He brings his revelation point by point, and in connection with some occasion in the history of his people, or some phase of their character. His message is never out of touch with events. These form either the subject-matter or the proof or the execution of every oracle he utters. It is therefore

God, not merely as Truth, but far more as Providence, whom the prophet reveals. And although that Providence includes the full destiny of Israel and mankind, the prophet brings the news of it for the most part, piece by piece, with reference to some present sin or duty, or some impending crisis or calamity. Yet he does all this, not merely because the word needed for the day has been committed to him by itself, and as if he were only its mechanical vehicle, but because he has come under the overwhelming conviction of God's presence and of His character, a conviction often so strong that God's word breaks through him and God speaks in the first person to the people."

Now, it is the full development of this genius for prophecy, which gives its high significance to the history of Israel from the eighth century before Christ onward. Prophecy, like most other great things, began very simply in fortune-telling, soothsaying, and the interpretation of oracles, or the reading of signs, or the interpretation of dreams. It grew through such primitive practices as

these into a religious ecstasy and from ecstasy to inspired insight. Samuel was both priest and prophet, but thereafter religious forces which had flowed in one common channel begin to divide and not only make for themselves separate and distinct beds but to become upon occasion actually hostile. We discover this hostility of priest and prophet often enough in Hebrew history, and it explains in the end the spiritual tragedies of Israel, even the tragedy of the Cross. The priests, an order set apart, had a recognized succession, and privileges of which they were greatly jealous. If one may press one's figure, the priestly tide flows on through ordered channels, quietly and evenly, though strangely enough tending to sterilize the very religious life which it was meant to enrich, and often more concerned with the channels than the water in them. That is the danger of authority, uniformity, and privilege always and everywhere. The form gets the better of the spirit and in the end crushes the spirit if it can. But prophecy is like a stream

drawn from high sources and subject to strange alterations, now running in full tide, now drying away until the very channel seems bare, and then rising to power once more. Prophecy is free, lonely and greatly dependent upon select personalities, the secret of whose intimacy with God is not easy to discover. But prophecy quickens and enriches all that it touches; the tree of life grows on the banks of that river and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.

Israel's God was at first only Israel's God. They worshipped Him much as their neighbours worshipped their own divinities, and yet always with a difference, for the Hebrew faith was, from the beginning, searching, austere and free from the contaminating suggestions of nature worship. The people had the consciousness of a unique mission and their faith was essentially monotheistic, even where they recognized the divinities of their neighbours as being gods for their neighbours, though they could be no gods for them. It is true they were always falling

from grace, since the seductions of nature worship are many, and it was easier to worship at the shrine of Baal or Astarte than at the shrine of Jehovah, but there was always in every time of apostasy a saving remnant who recalled the wandering people from their sin. These were the enthusiasts for Jehovah, and it is among these that we find the schools of the prophets which followed Samuel and anticipated Amos.

Prophecy was saved from becoming a mere religious enthusiasm through the connection of the prophet with public affairs. In the far-off beginnings of prophecy, rulers and warriors called in the soothsayer for guidance; in later times the prophet is the recognized, though not always welcome, adviser of the king. It is true that the prophet was thus subjected to peculiar temptations; he would be asked to prophesy smoothly, he would be bribed and flattered. The lesser prophets too often gave way before such forces as these, but the great prophets found in their relation to the State the opportunity to magnify their office. They were com-

pelled to deal with events; that kept their feet upon the ground, but their faces were always towards the sky. They appraised life in terms of its relation to God; they found God in the facts and events of life. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of all this. It has persisted through the centuries. Every prayer which we put up for the help of God in grave national situations is some echo of the prophet's persuasion that the destiny of the nation is in the hands of God. As we find rebuke or discipline in misfortune or defeat, we are only sitting at the feet of the prophets. When we seek to discern through the play of events the movement of the divine will, we follow the prophets, and when we search through all the circumstances of life for some anticipation of that "far-off divine event towards which the whole creation moves" we are still in debt to the Hebrew prophets for the very impulse which directs us and the vision by which we are guided.

After the eighth century a new element entered into the prophet's message as he be-

came the spokesman of the forgotten and the champion of the oppressed. The eighth century in Israel was a time of prosperity and city building. Before this the Jewish people had been for the most part farmers and warriors, but now they became city dwellers and tradesmen, prosperous and luxurious. The social problem is born of wealth and luxury along with selfishness and moral blindness. The Hebrew prophet was the first to see the significance of all this. He saw how luxury eats the heart out of a people, how injustice embitters the downtrodden, how poverty demoralizes both the poor and the rich, and what a mockery religion becomes when it goes complacently about its formal business with no passion for justice and no protest against social unrighteousness. We are in debt to the Hebrew prophet for our social passion. It roots in the soil which he created, or it roots nowhere. In all our protest against the unrighteousness of our social life, in our biting sense of failure in the conduct of our common affairs, in our persuasion that this also is God's concern, and

that we are no true children of His save as we correct it and make His fatherhood not only a name but a blessed reality for all men, we are continuing the work of the prophet and revoicing his message.

One thing further happened to Israel during these years,—their contact with alien civilizations and the menace of conquering imperialism beyond their borders. This widened the prophet's horizons. He had to consider not only Israel but Egypt and Assyria as well. These also were the instruments of the Divine will. The providence of God therefore far transcended the narrow limits of Israel's own country. He was no tribal God, but the God of the nations. History is His revelation, international politics His concern, empires ride like ships upon the tides of His power. The endeavour to interpret a weltering world in terms of Divine sovereignty carried the Hebrew prophet to his last lonely summit of vision. He stood at the listening outposts of the battle lines of that ancient world, interpreted the ebb and flow of the tides of conquest in terms of the

mercy or wrath of God, and heard the voice of God above the roar of every storm, as he heard the voice of God in the quiet places of his own soul. This too is our inheritance from him. As we strive to find God in the flow of history, to discover His judgments in the rise and fall of peoples and to discern moral meanings in the shock of embattled nations, we are only doing for our own time what the prophet did for his, and something which without the prophet we should never have done at all.

Instructed by the prophet the historians of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms wrote and rewrote the story of their people in terms of the will of God. Misfortune was His discipline, good fortune His signal mercy, and their entire national life His supreme concern. The historians of the Northern Kingdom naturally enough gave their colour to their national history; the historians of the South did the same, but that only adds to the depth and rich variety of the picture. The impulse to write history in the light of the prophet's vision gave us the Pentateuch,

and more than that, has influenced the writing of all history from that day to this. History can never for a moment be the mere record of events; it is the attempt to reach the sources of things, to connect cause and effect, and to discover the moral meanings of human experience as seen through the strangely clarifying power of the years which are past, for the guidance and direction of the years which are to come.

I have dwelt at length upon all this because we cannot understand Jerusalem unless we understand the prophets, nor understand the prophets unless we understand Jerusalem. True enough, the prophets are rarely city-born and the greater of the earlier prophets belong to the Northern Kingdom rather than to the Southern, but this does not greatly affect the real situation. From the division of the kingdom to the period of the exile, Jerusalem suffered changing fortunes. It was more than once threatened by invading armies, more than once providentially delivered, and more than once entered and plundered. Under good kings it prospered,

under evil kings it suffered; but all the while it became more deeply saturated with enduring associations. Some of its kings strengthened its walls, some of them built conduits and pools and brought water into the city. They adorned it as they could, but the greatness of it is not in its kings.

Through these centuries the office of the priesthood was magnified and the temple worship enriched. We cannot easily overestimate the degree in which the temple cult with its festivals to which all the people came, unified and even spiritualized the religious life of the people; but the glory of Israel was not in its priests or its temple courts clouded with the smoke of sacrifices; the glory of Jerusalem until it fell before the Chaldean is the glory of the prophets; strange and lonely men not always highly considered, who brought the life of the palace, the temple, and the market-place up to the judgment seat of a just and sovereign God; men for whom king, priest and trader were but instruments in the hands of the Most High; men who had no fear of authority

if it were unjust, and who breathed a saving compassion for poverty and suffering wherever they saw it; men who stood for justice, righteousness and spiritual worship, and whose voices still sound across the years. If Jerusalem had done nothing else than to offer an occasion to the prophets and furnish a deathless illustration of the providence of God as made manifest through the mutations of history, we should ever after be in debt to that city.

It was for all too brief a time the glory of a great king, but it remained the brooding solicitude of the prophet,—a city which through both its faith and its denial gave religion new meanings and new power.

In the end, after 300 years of building, fighting, worshipping, repenting and going wrong again, with more than one strange deliverance in which the prophets found the sign of God's mercy, the city was captured by Nebuchadrezzar, the ancient temple of Solomon was destroyed with the palace and all the chief buildings, the walls were broken down and the people led away captive, leav-

ing only the poor of the land as vine dressers and husbandmen. The history of the ruined city remains a blank for a full seventy years until, under Cyrus the Great, the Jew was permitted to rebuild it. But that belongs to another chapter.

Through the action and interaction of such forces as I have named, the Jew came to have for Jerusalem a deathless devotion. It was his pride and passion; he clung to it with all the tenacity of the Jewish spirit, thereafter never to forget it, always to glorify it, ever to long for it, and to make the restoration of its ancient glory the symbol of all his dreams and hopes. For men do not truly live in their pomp and power and in possession; they live in their understanding of unseen and eternal things. Our true capital cities are built in and by our faith and whatever becomes the shrine of a great faith is as deathless as humanity. Even in the first chapter of its long and stormy history, Jerusalem had become just that. We cannot fully understand the full implication of it all until we follow the

history through, but just because the stronger and better life of the old city was established in the faith of its people, its kings, its priests, and its prophets, the city possessed the tenacity of faith itself. It might be captured but it could not be overthrown.

III

Jerusalem, the Desire of the Exile

Mesopotamia like Egypt was a river product. As early as 3000 B. C. canals seem to have tapped the Euphrates and bricks of its alluvial soil to have been built into cities. The Akkadians (a Semitic people) inhabited the northern section of this Land of the Two Rivers and the Sumerians (probably non-Semitic) the southern. We have glimpses of their hostility, and their occasional union under some king like Sargon (? 2500 B. C.). Babylon emerges from these mists about 2000 B. C. and the chronicle of Hammurabi a century later affords an historical point of contact with its life. From about 1600 to 600 B. C. the Assyrians whose capital was Nineveh on the Tigris dominated the country and at times under leaders like Tiglath-Pileser I (twelfth century B. C.) threatened to conquer all known Asia. An Assyrian Sargon and his son Sennacherib extended and consolidated this work. Samaria was captured in 722–1 B. C. and Jerusalem under King Hezekiah was seriously threatened in 701 B. C. Late in the seventh century Assyria, weakened by Scythian inroads from the north, fell before the combined attacks of Babylon and Media. Nineveh was taken and destroyed in 608–7 B. C. Under Nebuchadrezzar Babylon grew great; Judea was conquered in 601 and Jerusalem destroyed in 586. There were several deportations of the Jews, multitudes of whom were forced to take up their residence in Babylonia, some of them rising to places of wealth and power. The prophecies of Ezekiel, the later portion of Isaiah and many of the Psalms came from this experience of exile. Meanwhile the Medes and Persians were overshadowing Babylonia. It fell before Cyrus in 538 and became a Persian province. Permission to return to Judea was given to the Jews by Cyrus. A considerable number—though not a majority—went back in the long period between 538 B. C. and 433 B. C. and under leaders like Ezra, Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, Jerusalem was rebuilt, the Temple reconsecrated and the Jewish State reorganized as a theocracy.

III

JERUSALEM, THE DESIRE OF THE EXILE

WE have already seen how Jerusalem is set hard by the meeting place of the roads which lead from continent to continent, and how certain the city was to be drawn into the strife of rival imperialisms in Western Asia. We have now to consider how directly Jerusalem was involved in the fortunes of Assyria and Babylon and the significant ways in which all this reacted upon the life of Israel.

"In any general survey of the history of Babylon," says Jastrow, "two facts are fundamentally important and must be taken into consideration: first, that civilization in the Mesopotamian Valley moves from the South to the North; second, that this culture is the outcome of the mixture of two diverse elements, Semitic and non-Semitic." The

Sumerians, the non-Semitic element in that ancient civilization, were mountain-bred people, possibly Mongolian, hunters rather than tillers of the soil, and formidable warriors. About 3500 years before Christ, they had established themselves in cities all along the Euphrates. Each city had its god, each god his shrine, and each god lorded it over as much territory as his followers could take and keep. The cities, gods and dynasties of this far-off time are for us to-day only names, a world hidden in mists, across which the dawn of history slowly rises. For our purpose there is no need even so much as to set down the strange names of these cities which played their little part in an ever-shifting struggle of races and gods, kings and subjects, or to dwell upon it at all save to recognize in passing the industry and erudition of the scholars who from sculptured slabs, strange monuments and broken clay tablets have read and retold their story with an amazing fullness of detail. Now and then a king emerges who enlarges and solidifies his domain and secures for himself a little

less forgetfulness than his fellows. In general the Semitic strain prevailed over the Sumerian and the seat of empire moved north. The Amorites and Elamites conquered the Akkadians, as the Akkadians had prevailed over the Sumerians, and, with the Amorite occupation, Babylon, whose far-off beginnings are wholly lost to us, began to assert its mighty ascendency.

Thereafter the history of Mesopotamia may be divided into four great periods:—First, the old Babylonian period from the rise of Babylon to the time when Assyria was sufficiently strong and independent to contend with Babylon on equal terms; second, the first Assyrian period to the ascension of Tiglath-Pileser II in 745 B. C.; third, the second Assyrian period from 745 B. C. to the fall of Nineveh; fourth, the new Babylonian empire.

Babylon comes into the clear light of history under Hammurabi the Great. He reigned for fifty-five years, beautified his city, built canals to drain his country, subdued his enemies and left a code of laws which we

have recovered almost in their entirety, and which reflect an astonishing culture and a statesman's genius. He glorified himself and his reign in an inscription which still endures,—"I am Hammurabi, the mighty king, king of Babylon, the king whom the regions obey, the winner of victory for his lord, Merodach, the shepherd who rejoices his heart. I dug the canal called 'The Blessing of His People'; I allotted both its shores for food; measures of corn poured I forth; a lasting water supply I made for the people. . . . Food and drink I made for them with blessing and abundance; I gifted them. In convenient abodes I caused them to dwell. Thenceforward I am Hammurabi the mighty king, the favourite of the great gods." And all this was more than 2,000 years before Christ.

The Babylonians were "not first and foremost a military people; their energies were mostly spent in trade and manufacturing, in science and art." In time they fell under foreign masters, and though their culture conquered their conquerors, Babylon lost her

hold upon the Semites of the North. These made Nineveh their capital, pushed their empire in turn southward, and asserted their dominion over Babylon. The Assyrians were born warriors, cruel, restless and insatiate in their ambition. Under mighty kings their fierce campaigns carried them from the frontiers of India to the Ægean Sea. They swept across Syria and Palestine and made the king of Tyre drink salt water to quench his thirst. They limited or broke up the petty sovereignties and the local religions of Western Asia and the fear of them lay as a shadow upon all neighbouring lands. Then as "night falls on noon," Assyria ceased to be, nor has she left us any record of her fall. Very likely there was no real solidity of society or administration, save in the fluctuating greatness of her kings, to bear the weight of her empire. She destroyed but never assimilated, devastated and did not rebuild. There was no cement in her structure save the blood of the conquered; she was hated and feared but never loved, and what remains of her is only sculptured slabs record-

ing the cruel victories of her conscienceless kings, and her testimony, never more needed than now, that any empire established in force and maintained by fear has the hand of God against it, and cannot endure.

Now Jerusalem also lay in the path of these marauding kings, and it was under Tiglath-Pileser II that the first contact of Israel with Mesopotamia, so momentous in its outcome, began. Assyria could not reach towards Egypt save through Palestine, and Egypt naturally enough sought Palestine for a buffer state. We cannot understand the history of the Jewish people except in the light of their relation to these great neighbours, for this relationship, perilous as it was, drew them into currents of a wider movement and made them a part of the history of the world. They were far too weak to stand alone and therefore allied themselves now with Egypt and now with Assyria, always getting nothing out of their allies but the enmity of the other side. Their prophets protested endlessly against this policy and sought to teach the kings that their true de-

pendence was in the Lord their God, for the prophet spoke out of an inspired consciousness that the Jew had for his inheritance something greater than any empire. This inheritance was a religious faith belonging in its purity and austerity to another world than the religious faith of his neighbours. It was the consciousness of an unseen and eternal reality in which all the future was through him to be instructed. King and people alike were strangely slow to learn, and so, partly through mistaken policies and partly through the march of events which were too strong for them, the whole of Palestine was overrun by conquering armies from the east.

The Northern Kingdom was the first to fall, 721 years before Christ, conquered by Assyria. Its people were largely carried into captivity and only a mixed population was left, never thereafter able to rebuild their national life. Jerusalem and Judea resisted for almost 150 years longer, a little harassed state and a battle-scarred city on a bare gray rock, but a city which none the less carried

the religious future of humanity. Two great prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah, foresaw the doom of their state and sought in vain to avert it. The first and greatest of these, Isaiah, gave up hope for the present, but claimed the future for his faith. "There should be," he said, "a remnant who would be true to their God and out of this remnant their God would rebuild their city and their faith;" and at last in a wonderful way Isaiah's vision came true. In 586 B. C. Jerusalem was sacked and destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar the Great, but it was by the Chaldean and not the Assyrian that Jerusalem was finally captured, and to Babylon and not to Nineveh that the captives were taken. About 625 B. C. an Assyrian general sent to subdue a revolt in Babylon was made governor of the city. He in turn plotted against his master, made a league with Egypt, secured help from the Medes and marched against Nineveh; the city was taken and utterly destroyed; Nebuchadrezzar, a son of this general, succeeded his father and set his many captives at work to make Baby-

lon the greatest city in the world. Herodotus tells us of its glory.

"The city stands on a broad plain, and is an exact square, a hundred and twenty furlongs in length each way, so that the entire circuit is four hundred and eighty furlongs. While such is its size, in magnificence there is no other city that approaches it. It is surrounded, in the first place, by a broad and deep moat, full of water, behind which rises a wall fifty royal cubits in width and two hundred in height. . . . On the top along the edges of the wall, they constructed buildings of a single chamber facing one another, leaving between them room for a four-horse chariot to turn. In the circuit of the wall are a hundred gates, all of brass, with brazen lintels and side posts. . . . The city is divided into two portions by the river which runs through the midst of it. This river is the Euphrates. . . . The city wall is brought down on both sides to the edge of the stream; thence, from the corners of the wall, there is carried along each bank of the river a fence of burnt bricks. The

houses are mostly three and four stories high; the streets all run in straight lines; not only those parallel to the river, but also the cross streets which lead down to the water side. At the river end of these cross streets are low gates in the fence that skirts the stream, which are, like the great gates in the outer wall, of brass, and open on the water."

Something must be allowed for Herodotus' generous way of dealing with facts, but none the less the splendour of Babylon was unique in that ancient world. We have a strange testimony to the way in which Babylon mastered the imagination of the Jew in that, "it is the one city known to history which could have served as a model for the description of the new Jerusalem, the city lying four square, the walls great and high and the river flowing through the streets thereof." So in the end Babylon the mighty and Jerusalem the holy have combined to supply for Christian expectation its vision of celestial splendour.

It is hardly possible that there should have been no intercourse between Jerusalem and

Babylon before the captivity. Through embassies, commerce and travel the Jew had learned something of the city to which he was being carried, and may have been in some measure influenced by its culture and its customs. We know clearly enough that the religion of the Jew was influenced by the philosophy, if not the faith of Chaldea, but whether all this is preëxilic or post-exilic, it is impossible now to say. At any rate the Jews who were taken to Babylon came into an environment and were subject to an experience destined profoundly to affect their after history. They went, to begin with, from a provincial town to an imperial city. They came under the tutelage of a people with a genius for the codification of law and the administration of affairs, a people possessing a science and culture far richer than their own. Chaldea had much to teach Israel in many ways. In almost everything which affects life save religion, Babylon was rich and Jerusalem was poor, but Jerusalem had a spiritual wealth beside which the temples of Babylon were bare indeed. Now what

will happen to men rich in faith who are carried over into a civilization richer than theirs in everything but faith, depends wholly upon their spiritual steadfastness. If they surrender to the seductions of their new environment, accept its easy standards of living, substitute its science for their faith, and its culture for their integrity, then their fall is great indeed and they will end by possessing neither their own virtue nor the better qualities of those whom they imitate; but on the other hand, if they hold fast to their faith and the integrity of their life, they will be able to add to what is high and central in themselves, rich contributions from an alien society, and thereby make a distinct contribution to the spiritual wealth of humanity.

Now this is exactly what the Jew did in Babylon. He refused to be assimilated, although he was beyond debate greatly affected by the experiences of the Exile. What he took back home with him out of Babylon, he related to his own religion and rewrote, if I may use the figure, in terms of

his own passion for his God and his past. Beyond debate, Chaldea at some time and somehow supplied to Israel aspects of its cosmogony. There is much in common between the first chapters of Genesis and the recitals of the clay tablets of Mesopotamia, but always with this difference: Israel lifted what science he had, no matter where he gained it, to the high level of his own faith in God. So science itself became richer through the interpretation of it in terms of the creative power of God, and faith became richer in that it magnified the ways through which God manifests Himself to men. It is not easy to put all this in a sentence; suffice it to say that Israel kept this faith through all the trying experiences of the Exile, and somehow made all that the Exile taught him a part of his own vision of God.

But this is only a part, and a lesser part, of what those seventy lonely years did for the Jew. He was always an exile who never consented to the discipline which kept him so long in a strange land. There is that in the very fact of exile which gives rich

significance to its experiences, for the exile is never really a citizen of the land in which he dwells; he is therein a pilgrim and a stranger. The true homeland of his soul is where his heart and his dreams are. I wonder if there is any feeling of this, any broken sense of it at all, anywhere in literature before the Exile, and if all that thought of life as a pilgrimage wherein we have no continuing stay, in that we seek for some city of desire beyond the hills of time, did not really begin to come into life with the long sojourn of the Jew in Chaldea. If we follow back the great haunting phrases which breathe for us our sense of the sad discrepancy between our station and our desires, I wonder if they will not bring us to the Jew who would not sing his songs in a strange land and who saw in imagination through the shimmering heat of the low country the lift of his Judean hills against the sky. However that may be, the very fact that the Jew refused to accept Babylon as permanent or to give up hope of returning home again kept him true to the faith of his fathers, and

that fidelity was a centre around which everything else was organized.

He came to have a new respect for his own religion. We need strange backgrounds sometimes against which to see the near and familiar in order to understand how great it really is. Babylon had nothing to offer Jerusalem in the way of religion save a pantheon of divinities who shared between them the power which the Lord God of Israel exercised alone—bizarre and capricious gods, personifications of nature forces, and above all, gods who represented the sun, the moon and the stars; since the better part of Babylonish faith was the worship of the starry heavens, and the sun which rules them. But for the Jew, his God was the maker of the sun and the moon and the stars. Why should he worship the creatures when he might worship the creator? All this gives a new significance to the first chapters of Genesis, as it gives a new significance to the fortieth chapter of Isaiah. It is God who made the sun for the day and the moon for the night, who bringeth out the hosts of heaven by

number and calleth them by name. The faith of Israel was as high above the cults of Babylon as the stars themselves above the earth. The prophets had long sought to persuade the Jew of this; now he saw it for himself, and thereafter never forgot it; for, with the Exile, the Jew was burned clean of idolatry. There is no trace of that worship in his post-exilic life.

In Babylon, as I have said, the Jew came in contact with a greater science than his own. The stars shine majestically above the plains of Mesopotamia and from of old the Chaldeans had studied their courses. They had been the first astronomers of their eastern world, and Israel brought back with him from his exile a new feeling for the stars. Of course this is to beg vexed questions of criticism, but I assume that the Psalms which are so full of the sense of the glory of God in the firmament, which breathe so real a feeling for nature, and above all, the Book of Job with its discernment of the power of God in rising and setting constellations, reflect the influences of the Exile. We

find little about the stars in the earlier prophets, but the prophet of the Exile takes from them a text, as we have been doing ever since.

We have no means of knowing how directly the Jews were influenced by the great Babylonian codes through their enforced residence in Chaldea, but there are parallels between the legislation of the Jew and the legislation of the Chaldean which are certainly more than coincidences. Some interplay of influences there must have been and if it did not begin with the Exile, it was certainly deepened and strengthened thereby. There are those who believe that the Jew was in debt to the Chaldean for his demonology, the story of the temptation and fall and, in general, for those elements in the old Hebrew religion which reflect a conflict between good and evil, between God and Satan. Certainly these lie so much upon the surface of the Hebrew faith that it is possible to take them away and leave the depths untouched. This would seem to indicate that they did not grow out of that religion itself but were

drawn from alien sources. I would not press this, but we are sure that with and through the Exile a new consciousness of the problem of evil came into Hebrew faith. The Book of Job is the classic expression of all this, and whether Job be post-exilic or born of the Exile itself, it does represent a mature faith, grappling for the first time with the mighty challenge of a sorrow-burdened humanity. Whatever the Jew took out of Babylon he deepened and transformed. He really never accepted the Chaldean solution of the problem of evil; that evil is born of a divided empire between light and darkness, between God and Satan. He thought of God as too great to suffer a divided empire and he began therefore as one feeling through the shadow to find a place in the justice of God for the sorrows of humanity. The problem of the Book of Job is not, in the heart of it, "given evil, to find God," but rather, "given a just and all-powerful God, to understand evil," and there is all the difference in the world between these two points of approach. We do not see clearly through those shadows

which have always darkened our vision, but what light we have is from the Jew, and not the Chaldean, though it may well be that his own experience in the Exile compelled him to think more deeply of these things.

But the greatest thing which the Jew learned through his exile still remains to be considered. He gained through loneliness and homesickness a new passion for his own country, and a new affection for its ruined city. If the Jew had been loyal to Jerusalem before he went into exile, thereafter he loved it with a love beyond words. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth." Because the Jew thus remembered Jerusalem and idealized it, he made it as he saw it from afar, the symbol of all his hopes and his desires. It is now that Jerusalem begins to be the hope of the soul and to stand for something far greater than the war-scarred capital of a little state. It is now that it begins to symbolize the City of God, perfect in power and beauty, to be sought across the years.

Something more than this happened. The Jew took with him into exile the hope of a redemption and return for the fulfillment of which he was wholly dependent upon his God. The first prophet of the Exile, Ezekiel, gave a definite character and direction to this hope. It began to take on a Messianic form. It was identified with the coming of a Deliverer and with the day of His triumph. How much all this has meant we shall know only as we follow the Messianic hope down through our story. It is enough to say now, that it began to prepare the way for the Christ. The second great prophet of the Exile is for us nameless, though his prophecies are a part of the book of Isaiah—the latter part, beginning with the fortieth chapter. They begin with words which breathe the comforting strength of the Eternal upon all troubled and restless lives, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned." What does this mean? It means that the time has come for the Jew

to go home again, and that a new chapter was beginning to be written in the long history of the East. A new power, the Mede and Persian under Cyrus the Great, was rising in the hill country beyond the Euphrates. Babylon, softened by her luxury, was to fall to a new master, and the Jew was at last to be set free. But if he were to go back to Jerusalem and rebuild its fallen walls and ruined temple—a difficult and heart-breaking task—he needed great assurances in which to be established and great music by which to march. So God sent him a prophet who sang so gloriously that his anthem has ever since been the marching music of all those who have gone out to achieve greater things. There is nothing anywhere in religious literature like the last twenty-five chapters of the Book of Isaiah. They sing the strength, the justice, the love, the unchanging power, the redemptive might of the Lord. Rich in passion, mighty in hope, firm in assurance, they voice as no other human utterance has ever voiced the everlasting reality of religion. "Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard,

that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no searching of His understanding. He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might He increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint." There is a new note in this which was to mean much in all the after history of religion, the assurance that God shares the suffering of His children. "Who is this that cometh from Edom with dyed garments from Bozrah?" "I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save." "Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel?" "I have trodden the wine-press alone." Here is promise of the suffering Messiah—the Cross beginning to lift itself against the sky-line of humanity.

In the end Cyrus captured Babylon, coming in through its water-gates, and set the captive people free. He gave them Nehe-

miah to lead them back to their ruined city and in due season Ezra the priest recast the religious life of the people. What follows belongs to another chapter, but this is enough to help us to see that the Jew took back to Jerusalem, when his exile was ended, far more than he took away as the Exile began and that what he gained in his loneliness and meditation has become our common possession. It is the soil in which the expectation of the Messiah rooted itself and from which our own Christian faith draws its richest Old Testament assurances. It is one more testimony to the power of the things of the spirit. Babylon is but a mound of clay, its river has choked the old irrigation canals and made a pestilent swamp where once the kings of Babylon built their hanging gardens. The voices of Babylon to-day are the marsh birds and the cries of wild beasts; but the great voices of the exile, the voices of hope and faith live on and we still keep step in our passion for better things to that divine music in the comfort of which the exile went back to Jerusalem.

IV

Jerusalem, the Despair of Our Lord

In 334 B. C. Alexander the Macedonian appeared in Asia Minor and in the next ten years had not only carried his victorious arms into India but had taken steps towards reorganizing the vast empire thus won. He died in 323 B. C. and within thirty years his empire was divided between five of his chiefs, each of whom had assumed the title of king. Ptolemy of Egypt and Seleucus of Syria were the two of these whose influence touched Jerusalem. Ptolemy occupied Palestine in 301 B. C. and for about a century, although the Egyptian was generally in the ascendant, the country remained a bone of contention between these kingdoms. In 198 B. C., however, Antiochus, of the Seleucid dynasty, gained a signal victory over the Egyptians in northern Palestine and soon after entered Jerusalem. At first he was probably welcomed as a deliverer but his zeal to introduce Greek customs soon aroused bitter antagonism. His son, Antiochus Epiphanes, violated the temple and attempted to compel the Jews to observe heathen rites. Rebellion ensued and in the decade 170–160 B. C. Judas Maccabeus and his brothers took the leadership in a warfare that finally made Jerusalem practically independent and established the Hasmonean (Maccabean) family as its priest-kings in 143–142 B. C. This troubled and precarious independence lasted until the conflict with Rome in 65–63 B. C. gave Jerusalem into the power of Pompey. Representatives of the Hasmonean family still continued in a modified authority, however, under Roman protection until in 37 B. C. the Idumean Herod who had married a daughter of that house procured the throne. He was a man of great abilities and vices; his son Archelaus inherited the latter rather than the former and incurred so much ill will from his subjects that in 4 B. C. the Romans banished him to Gaul and his realm of Judea and Samaria became a Roman province under the rule of a Procurator. Pontius Pilate, before whom Jesus was tried, was the fifth of these Procurators. In 66 A. D. the Jews rose against Rome and waged a war which ended with the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A. D. and the destruction of city, temple and a vast multitude of the nation.

IV

JERUSALEM, THE DESPAIR OF OUR LORD

THE Babylon of Nebuchadrezzar and Belshazzar with its massive walls and gates of brass was captured without a battle by Cyrus the Great in 538 B. C. and thereafter a new chapter in the long history of the East began to be written. Under Cyrus and his successors the Jews, who had been held captive in Babylon and who had so bitterly mourned their exile, were given leave to return and rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. It is difficult to follow in detail the story of the restoration, but we know that they had for marching music as they returned the glorious prophecies from the last twenty-five chapters of Isaiah, and that they found in Nehemiah a leader of great courage and practical force under whom Jerusalem regained something of its ancient

power, and for the Jew, because he had sought it so passionately, a new sanctity. Thereafter for two hundred years the story of Jerusalem is the story of a little city-state under Persian over-lordship, but left much to itself by the far-away kings of Babylon.

These two centuries are marked by a rich religious development. This is the golden period of the priestly order. The high priest was really the ruler of the city and the state, and since he ruled in the name of the Lord his God, Jerusalem was really a theocracy, a God-governed city in which the interests of religion were supreme and a strongly developed priestly class had its way with the people. History furnishes few examples of a similar situation. There were prophets also, the record of whose prophecies are kept for us in the later books of the Old Testament, but now the prophet is always subordinate to the priest. This gives a new character to Jewish religious development and explains much which follows, for the priest is likely to be strongly conscious of his own authority, impatient of change,

deeply conservative, and more concerned about the form and order of worship than the free development of the spirit. The prophet is almost always a lonely soul, speaking for the future rather than the past, summoning men and institutions to the high judgment bar of the divine Justice and, upon occasion, sadly disturbing the order of things as they are. None the less the Jerusalem of the priest has given us a great tradition, most of the later historical books of the Bible, and a substantial part of the Psalter. The Psalms were employed in the temple worship as we use our own hymns, but like the great hymns they belong to no time or order. They are rooted in experience but they rise to God and voice across the centuries the great assurances of the soul. They lift their cry unto Him out of the depths, they praise Him from the heights, nor is there any questing of the soul which they do not make articulate. No body of human utterance has been so constantly rehearsed. It is hardly too much to say that from the day of their first repetition until now no sun has risen which did not

look down upon some one saying their hallowed words, nor any darkness fallen except to the music of their recitative. If Jerusalem, which has given us so much which will outlast the city itself, had given us nothing more than the Psalms, we should be forever in debt to those who knew God so intimately and sang His praises so splendidly.

And now while the high priests came and went in long succession, the temple service failed not, and the Jew was secure and contented in his city, the East reached out to meet the West, and the West to meet the East. Greece and Persia challenged one another along the shores of the Mediterranean and the Ægean, and it was Greece that conquered, making Salamis and Thermopylæ household words for the unborn. Finally in the fourth century B. C., Alexander the Great led his forces to Babylon itself and imposed the genius of Europe upon Asia. The fortunes of Jerusalem were involved in this change as her fortunes have been involved directly or indirectly in every great readjustment of human power for 3,000

years. There is a legend that the Jews sent out their high priest and his attendants, clad in their robes of office, venerable and imposing, and that Alexander was so moved thereby as not only to turn aside from the city itself but to acknowledge the supremacy of their God. However this may be, we know that he left the city to one side as he went on his conquering way, but counted it among his possessions. The very genius and culture of Greece attended him and though his career soon ended, Asia Minor was remade by Greek influence. After Alexander's death his empire fell to his generals, and thereafter for 200 years they and their successors fought over its fragments. Jerusalem passed from one to the other of these reigning Grecian families. It belonged, to begin with, to the Ptolemies of Egypt, but later to the reigning house of Syria and Antioch, and it suffered at the hands of all. Ptolemy Soter carried many of the inhabitants to Alexandria where they multiplied as did their fathers in Egypt before them. Alexandria gradually became a great centre

of Jewish life and Alexandrian Judaism reacted strongly upon the private and religious life of Palestine. The Old Testament was translated into Greek for the benefit of these expatriated Jews who play a strong part in the subsequent fortunes not only of Judaism but even of Christianity. Jerusalem herself was divided between her allegiance to her ancient religion and her austere faith, and to the spirit of Greek culture, and there grew up among the Jews a Greek party anxious to break down the old distinction and to adopt the ideals of the Greek. For the most part their Greek over-lords respected the religion of the Jew, and left his temple and his worship unchallenged. But under Antiochus the Fourth this policy was changed. He undertook to root out the Jewish religion and it needed deep and bitter digging to do that. He took Jerusalem by storm about 170 B. C., tore down its walls, burned its palaces, and desecrated its temple, sacrificing swine on the high altar and stirring the Jews to a madness of revolt.

Now begins one of the little known but

Ancient Tower at End of City Wall.

greatly heroic chapters in the long war of faith and devotion against tyranny and intolerance. One of the Greek officers acting under Antiochus came to a small Judean town hid away in the hills and summoned all the inhabitants to a heathen sacrifice. Among these was a certain Mattathias, a priest, strong in the ancient faith and with five sons greater even than himself. He struck down with his sword a recreant Jew who was about to offer sacrifice upon the heathen altar, and his sons slew the officer himself. Thereafter they were outlaws, but they gathered about them in the fastnesses of the hills those of their fellow countrymen of a like mind, and in the end the power of Syria was not great enough to conquer them. Judas, called Maccabeus or the Hammer, was the greatest of these soldiers of faith. After his death his brothers carried on his work, finally won their independence, and became at once the kings and high priests of an enfranchised Jerusalem. The story, as we read it, is like a trumpet call across the hills of time. Under John Hyrcanus, grandson of

Mattathias, Jerusalem itself had a season of peace and marked prosperity, but all the while Syria was in a state of anarchy, a rich prey for some predatory power.

Ferraro has told us, in pages which make the story of ancient Rome as vivid as contemporaneous history, of the social and political conditions which led the Romans to undertake the conquest of the East. Seventy years before Christ, the austere Roman Republic was really dead, the empire not yet born, and Rome herself had come under the control of political adventurers who fought between themselves for the mastery of the city and the world. They were really the classic equivalents of modern political bosses, and it needed money then, as it needs money now, to carry through their plans. Italy was exhausted and there remained only the East to exploit. That was a veritable treasure house open to any who would plunder it, through the weakness of its political organization and the endless revolutions and counter-revolutions which make the tangled web of its history. Roman gen-

eral after Roman general had been sent out but no one of them had succeeded in bringing anything like order to Syria and her neighbours. About 65 B. C. Pompey went himself. There was nothing in Syria to stand against his legions, and he had his way with all the country. At this time Rome sought overlordship rather than organized administration, and Pompey therefore found himself under the necessity of deciding between rival kings. He became in consequence the centre of a diplomacy so confused that there is no need to follow it through here. Aristobulus and Hyrcanus II, the last of the Maccabeans, strove between themselves to win the favour of the Roman. Pompey bound over both the brothers to keep the peace, but Aristobulus deserted Pompey and retired to Jerusalem to prepare for war. The approach of the Romans to the city brought Aristobulus to his senses. He went out to meet Pompey, promising to pay him a large sum of money and to surrender the city if only the Roman would leave the country in peace. The Roman was quite willing to do

this but Aristobulus could not keep his end of the bargain, for his soldiers rose against him, shut the city gates and prepared to stand a siege. There were then, as so many times before and afterward, two parties in Jerusalem, one of them quite willing to admit the Roman, but the other determined to hold out to the last. Through the treachery of the first party, Pompey gained an entrance to the city, but the second party had already taken possession of the Temple and defended it desperately for three months. Pompey built a great bank beside the north wall of the Temple and there set up his battering rams. He knew something of the habits of the people against whom he was fighting, took advantage of their unwillingness to engage in offensive operations on the Sabbath, and finally broke down the wall on the Day of Atonement, October, 63 B. C. The Romans butchered the priests at the altar, and Pompey with some of his friends entered the Holy of Holies, so taking to themselves a privilege which belonged only to the high priests. There is a legend that

he was greatly curious to know what god hid himself in a shrine so guarded and revered. When he parted the curtains he found only silence and darkness, a witness to the spiritual character of a religion which knew God as too great to be represented by any symbols and established its worship in reverent adoration of the unseen and eternal. Pompey left the treasure of the Temple untouched, and "the day after the capture the worship began again at his command with Hyrcanus II as high priest. Aristobulus and his family graced Pompey's triumph in Rome, and large numbers of captives were carried to the capital where they raised the Jewish colony to great importance even if they may not be said to have founded it."

So Judea once more came under the control of a foreign power, almost exactly one hundred years after the victories of Judas Maccabeus, and about eighty years after its independence had been achieved. Pompey reduced Jerusalem again to the status of a little city-state and made it subject to his representative in Syria.

The real intent of the history of this troubled time is in the social and religious development of the Jew. From the first there were two distinct reactions against the Greek influence and culture. There were those who were hospitable to Hellenism. They rationalized their religion, or else grew greatly skeptical of it, prided themselves on their open-mindedness, went to the gymnasia and the games, and considered themselves citizens of the world. These became the Sadducees. More tolerant than their neighbours, they were less patriotic and showed little sympathy with the Maccabeans in their fight for liberty.

The other party was more patriotic, narrow and intense. They held to the traditions of the fathers and hated Hellenism root and branch. They were the "come-outers" of that ancient time. In their love for the Hebrew law, they made a ritual of it which grew constantly more burdensome. "In personal life" this temper "led to isolation from the common people, to much washing of the hands, person, dishes and utensils.

In thought it led to infinite devotion to details. . . . In religion it led to . . . a church within a church, whose members were exclusively scribes. In politics it led to a determination to make Judea complete in itself—an isolated religious commonwealth, as far as possible removed from the contaminations of heathen life." These were the Pharisees. These parties persisted through the time of Christ and their antagonism spelled spiritual and political tragedy for Israel.

During this period also the hope of the Jew for a state of his own which should renew the ancient glories of the Kingdom of David became, if anything, more intense. We have already seen how the hope of a national redemption began to root itself in the soil of national defeat and misfortune under the chief prophets, for whom this hope was as the rising of a great clear morning; they dealt with it broadly and left much to the demonstration of the future. The hope itself varied in form with varying circumstances. "Before the Persian period it was the hope

of a regenerate Israel brought to greatness by Jehovah. . . . The Exile deepened the consciousness of its peculiar relations with Jehovah, and with the return of the most devoted of its members there came a deepening of the hope that Israel would become a world power directly ruled by God." This expectation gained in vividness and definiteness in the passing years, and centred around the Messiah and the Day of the Lord. It is impossible here to follow in detail the changing forms of this twofold hope. In the main, the Messiah was expected to come as a national deliverer, strong enough to overthrow all the enemies of the Jew, and to renew the ancient glory of Israel. He was to be heralded by the return of Elijah and possibly of other prophets. Before His coming, there would be a period of suffering, especially in Jerusalem. The moon and the sun would turn to blood; the stars fall from their courses,—and then the Messiah. He would bring war and judgment, overthrow the enemies of the Jews and all the evil angels. With His victory a new age would

be inaugurated, and a new kingdom set up in Jerusalem, or else a new Jerusalem descend from heaven. Peace would then spread over the world; the Jews would be recalled to their home country; the righteous dead would be raised from their graves, and God would then take over the kingdom, holy and glorious. . . . There was no general agreement about the way in which this program should be worked out, nor indeed about the character of the Messiah Himself. He is most commonly called the King, the Anointed One, and the Son of David, a warrior under whose leadership the Jews would tread upon the neck of the eagle. There was little expectation that He would be merely a teacher of personal religion, and no expectation that He would strive with the leaders of His people, and be condemned by them to die upon the cross.[1]

A strange literature grew out of this Messianic expectation, rich in symbolism,

[1] I am in debt for the summary of the Messianic hope of this period to Dr. Shailer Matthew's little book, "A History of New Testament Times in Palestine."

unbounded in imagination and wholly concerned with the end of the world and the overturning of earthly institutions. There was much loose handling of dates, and a kind of elastic time-scheme into which almost anything could be made to fit. We have come to see of late how greatly popular thought was influenced by this eschatology in the times directly before the coming of Jesus, and how the Apostolic Church and primitive Christianity were affected by these inherited beliefs. Indeed, we find reflections of them in the Gospels. The Book of Revelation is shot through with their splendour, as storm-clouds are shot through with light, and because they are thus a part of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the predictions and vision of the New Testament, they have exercised through the centuries, and still exercise a really commanding influence. In our times of peace and prosperity they are forgotten, but great misfortune recalls them to the minds of the troubled so inevitably that in every world crisis correspondences are discovered to the ancient

prophecies and every great national or international misfortune is looked upon as the herald of the end of the age. There is no need to say how many have discovered in the travail of our world of to-day the beginning of the end of the age, and the building of a red highway for the coming of the King.

But there were also those who expected the revelation of the love and power of God in another fashion, who seized upon the spiritual meanings of the Messianic hope and were not greatly concerned with its political or even its eschatological aspects. They expected one who should come more quietly, as rain upon the mown grass, whose ministries should be to the souls of men, who should preach the gospel to the poor, heal the broken-hearted, preach deliverance to the captives, restore sight to the blind, and set at liberty them that were bruised. Those who held such faith as this constituted an inner group, strong in faith, devout in life, who, like Simeon in the temple, were ready to sing their *Nunc Dimittis* if only they might

see the salvation of the Lord. Among these in due time Jesus Christ was born, a child of holy expectation, the promised one of the Lord. Yet the way of His coming and the character of His ministry were so greatly different from what His countrymen expected that they found no room for Him in their lives, or in their temples, and in rejecting Him, shut the door of the future in their own faces.

Jerusalem is remembered for many things, but for this above all,—that she crucified her Lord. He was never at home in that city; He lived much among the northern hills and by the lake of Galilee. There He spake as never man had spoken before, and taught His disciples of the Kingdom of God and its truths, so revealing to them the wonder and beauty of a spotless life that they knew Him as one not like themselves but the very living Word of God among men. So far as we know Jesus went to Jerusalem but five times; once as a babe in His mother's arms, once as a boy twelve years old, and three times during the three years of His teaching.

Jerusalem as Christ saw it was greatly in debt for its splendour to the strangest king who ever sat upon its throne, Herod the Great. There are few more tangled webs in history than the story of plot and counterplot by which the Idumean ancestors of Herod established themselves in Jerusalem. It is the story of misplaced favour and treachery, of revolution and shady diplomacy. One may say in a sentence that through the weakness of the last Maccabeans the family of Antipater became well established in the governing office, and through the favour of the Romans, Herod was made king of Judea. He finally conquered and entered Jerusalem by the help of Roman soldiers. Herod was one of the really great builders of history, and he lavished his wealth upon the city. He built an amphitheatre outside the second wall where chariot races and gladiatorial combats were held. Yet by a strange contradiction he reared for the Jews the last and greatest of their temples. The Temple of Herod was larger and far more splendid than the Temple of Solomon. Its ruins are

still a wonder and its massive stones bear testimony to the genius of its builder. He surrounded it with courts and colonnades, and built a marvellous bridge to join the ancient city of David with the royal courts of the Temple. Roman villas buried in gardens adorned the city. The cloisters of the Temple were deep and grateful in their shadows. These were the cloisters in which as a boy Christ disputed with the doctors, and as a man met the full hostility of His foes.

The streets of the city were full of craftsmen working at the ancient trades of the East, and of merchants dealing in rare wares. Its population was possibly from 200,000 to 250,000, and this was largely increased during the great feasts. All the elements in that ancient world passed through those narrow streets,—the Roman legions, bronze-armoured, scornful and disciplined,—Greek travellers, curious or trivial,—traders from all the markets of the Orient. Long-bearded Pharisees came and went, marked with pride and caste, keeping their own

stern way with no word for their neighbours, saying their prayers upon the street corners, with trumpets sounding before them as they bore their gifts to the Temple; Sadducees, priding themselves upon their cosmopolitan spirit, friends of Greek and Roman, and hating the Pharisees more than they hated the Roman power; humble and forgotten folk, weary and heavy laden; peasants from villages and countrysides, frankly wondering at the life about them; priests busy about their offices; Roman officials carried in their litters and claiming for themselves the right of way over all passers; Jews from Alexandria or the far East come up to worship at the shrine of their fathers;—and over it all the blazing Syrian sky. Through such crowds as these, there moved from time to time the Son of God and the Son of Man, careless of the splendour of the city, for He foresaw its doom, fearless of the Romans, for He knew the strength in which He was established, pitying the multitude, for He looked upon them as sheep without a shepherd, challenging the ruling classes in

thought, word and deed, cleansing the Temple by the sheer force of His righteous indignation, and calling all who would hear to a salvation to which they would not attend. History records many dramatic scenes and moving contrasts, but it has nothing more dramatic or significant to picture than Jesus in the streets of Jerusalem.

He came unto His own, and His own received Him not. The reason for this is not far to seek. The ruling classes of the Jews were set in their ways and hard in their hearts. Their traditions and their vested interests alike were opposed to everything He had to offer. His freer faith and holier vision challenged them along the whole frontiers of their lives, indicted and angered them. It was easier, they thought, to silence that voice than to obey it, so they brought Him to His death, and the Cross which the Romans set up for His crucifixion outside the city wall has become, as it were, a window through which we look deep into their hearts as we look into our own, to discover there such pride and unteachableness as have

always been silencing the prophets, and making ready the Cross for those whose only crime is to have loved us greatly and sought to lead us into better ways. But Jesus conquered through the Cross and in His teaching, example, crucifixion and resurrection, Christianity was born. The Jerusalem which rejected Him is remembered chiefly because He walked its streets. The road down which He passed bowed beneath His Cross, the Via Dolorosa, has become the holiest street in the world. The hill upon which He was crucified crowns humanity's devotion, and the sepulchre in which He was laid has been a shrine for pilgrims for two thousand years.

Once again Jerusalem makes manifest how the mightiest things in life are the things of the Spirit and how that which love has blessed and faith possessed is more lasting than any building of men's hands, in that it belongs to the true and to the enduring. For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are unseen are eternal.

V

Jerusalem, the Goal of the Crusader

Jesus of Nazareth was crucified probably in 29 A. D. Titus captured Jerusalem in 70 A. D. Despite the desolation which ensued, another rebellion was organized in 135 A. D. under Barcochebas which issued in the obliteration of Jewish nationality in Palestine. Jerusalem as rebuilt by Trajan became part of a Roman colony and lay beside the course of history until 326 when the Emperor Constantine ordered the identification of the sacred sites. Building ensued and the city became a place of shrines and churches. The Persians sacked it in the war of 614–615. Meanwhile the power of Islam was rising. Mohammed, born about 570, made his famous Hegira or flight from Mecca in 622, and died in 632. Five years later in 637 the Moslem general Omar captured Jerusalem. The Seljuk Turks became its masters in 1076. The First Crusade for its recovery by Christendom began in 1096 and resulted in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The dates of the Crusades may be roughly outlined as follows:—First, 1096–99; Second, 1147–48; Third, 1189–92; Fourth, 1202–04; Fifth, 1218–21; Sixth, 1228–29; Seventh, 1245—to the death of St. Louis, 1270. But the movement was really more nearly continuous than these dates indicate and there were various campaigns and forays which the above list scarcely covers. Jerusalem was recaptured by the Moslems in 1187, and though regained for very brief periods on at least two occasions, it continued generally in their hands. Until 1517 it was controlled by the Sultans of Egypt. At that time it passed to the Ottoman Turks and has remained with them until its capture by General Allenby in 1917.

V

JERUSALEM, THE GOAL OF THE CRUSADER

WHEN the leaders of the Jewish people rejected Jesus Christ, the spiritual empire of the Jew came to an end. For a thousand years his race had been rich in contributions to religious faith and insight which practically gave direction to the dominant religions of the world. There is very little in our own passion for social justice, in our search for a better world, or in our strong consciousness that human history roots itself in unseen and eternal forces and is always being brought to divine judgment, which we do not owe to the prophets of the Old Testament. The Psalmists sang the love and goodness of God in an inspired verse which still voices more completely than any other body of human utterance the longings, the confi-

dences and the adorations of the soul. The book of Proverbs supplies for us in sententious forms a wisdom much worn by continual repetition, rich in authority and gathering into unforgettable phrases a wealth of meditation and the fruition of wide experience. In the Book of Job, we have the first great endeavour of the soul, face to face with the old, old problem "given suffering, to find God," striving to reconcile the difficult facts of life with the divine love and justice. It is impossible to overestimate the significance of this great literature. It is nothing other than a divine revelation speaking through a peculiar people who by virtue of soul and circumstance answered to the suggestion of the Divine Spirit as the violin string to the bow of the musician. It is the deposit in terms of spiritual insight of the experiences of a race to whom the world will be forever in debt. We have already considered in some part the influences that so sterilized the spirit of the nation as not only to lead it to reject what it had so long hoped for, but through that rejection to make

it forever afterwards incapable of continuing its high mission. After the bitter scene of the crucifixion on the hill outside the walls of Jerusalem the sceptre of the Spirit passed to other hands.

Politically, also, the little Jewish state was upon the verge of ruin. We discern but dimly through any contemporaneous records the forces of revolt against the Roman over-lordship of Judea and Galilee which were already in action in the time of Christ. But the Maccabean revolution one hundred and fifty years before and the outbreak thirty years later help us to understand how tense the situation really was. The Jewish state was a powder magazine which needed only a spark to explode it. All this gives profound meaning to certain passages in the life of Jesus Himself. The temptation in the wilderness possessed vast implications. No one could have known His people as Jesus knew them, and especially the temper of the north; no one could have understood as He understood, how easily their religious hope could be given political direction, without seeing

that they needed only a strongly proclaimed leader demanding for his own the throne of David to release forces which would set the land aflame and which might secure a real kingship for one ready to play the part of Judas Maccabeus and contributing thereto in his own person the immense religious sanction of the Messiah. That is to say, any one who could persuade the Jews that he was the promised Messiah and make himself the rallying point at once of their fanaticism and their patriotism could have led a revolt against Rome, the chance of whose success was at least as great as the chance of the Maccabees and on the whole much greater.

The temptation to do this searched the very soul of Jesus; the sword of the conqueror was for Him a flaming alternative to the way of the Cross. He might have had another crown than the crown of thorns and have been remembered as one of the heroes of a forlorn hope, but He chose the Cross instead. He chose to conquer by suffering, and so established the basis of His empire not in the fierce patriotism of His

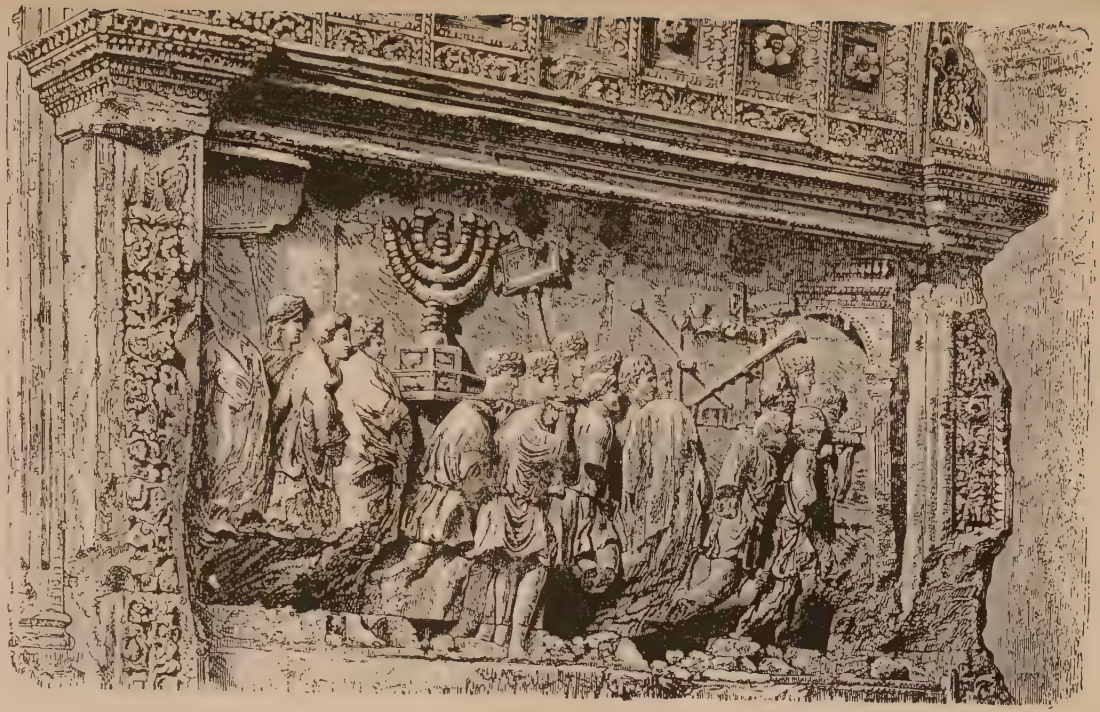
Jerusalem under Moslem Occupation.

people or in the doubtful fortunes of a little state, but in the enduring and triumphant way of sacrifical love. He chose to redeem rather than to go out to battle; He chose the future rather than the present; so He fulfilled in costly but irresistible fashion the ancient prophecy that He should be Prince of Peace, and so there are now upon His head the many crowns of the vision of the Book of Revelation, and His empire has just begun. In such ways then as give beauty to the pages of the Gospel and eternal power to His Passion and redemptive might to His Crucifixion, Jesus Christ made the great choice while His people made the great refusal. So that chapter in the story of Jerusalem ends.

The revolt which He might have headed broke out thirty years later. It filled the streets of Jerusalem with civil war, involved the Jews of Cæsarea and other Syrian cities in a massacre which spared neither man, woman nor child, made the sunny hills of Galilee the scene of desperate fighting and finally brought the armies of Vespasian and

Titus before the walls of Jerusalem. The siege which followed is told in detail in Josephus—a bitter story of a cruel enterprise. No people ever made a more determined resistance than the Jews and no beleaguered garrison ever made an already desperate situation more hopeless by the bitterness of their quarrels among themselves. They destroyed their own supplies, slew one another, and still refused to surrender. When the city was at last taken it was a vast sepulchre and Titus triumphed only over the dead. "The city was ordered to be razed except the three towers which were left as standing monuments of the victory." The whole region was depopulated. Those who were not put to the sword were sold into slavery or killed in gladiatorial shows. Jerusalem at last had brought down a manifold vengeance upon herself.

Yet such is the tenacity of the Jewish race and the power of nature to recover, that within less than a half century there were Jews enough in the East to rise again against the Roman government. "Race



Romans Carrying Spoils from Jerusalem after its Fall.

(From a bas-relief on Titus' Arch in Rome.)

and religion," says John Morley, "are the two great facts with which imperialism has always to reckon." And Judaism, splendid in religious devotion, tenacious in racial consciousness, smouldered through the millenniums a bed of fire always ready upon occasion to send out its jets of flame. Fifteen years after the rising under Trajan, Hadrian undertook to rebuild Jerusalem "as a Roman colony with a Roman name and divested it altogether of the character which made it sacred in the eyes of the Jews." He forbade their dwelling in the city of their fathers and even preferred the Christians to them. Three years of fighting entirely wanting in humanity followed. Hundreds of thousands of the Jews were slain and in the end the triumphant Roman rebuilt the city after his will and gave it a Roman name. He called it Ælia Capitolina and reared a temple to his pagan gods on the desecrated summits of Mount Zion. Historically this completes the dispersion of the Jews. Henceforth they are a people without a fatherland, whose fate is symbolized by the

legend of the "Everlasting Jew" condemned to an immortality of homeless wandering. Nor is it merely religious prejudice to follow the parallel of the legend still farther and to say that all this was the penalty imposed upon the Jew because he rejected Jesus Christ, for of a truth the fanaticism, the division and the want of teachableness which led Jerusalem to stone the prophets and reject the Christ, made the after history of the Jew what it was.

In due time Constantine built Constantinople, and the Roman empire divided along the lines of ancient cleavage, the Greek and Latin. The Edict of Milan gave the sorely tried Church rest from persecution and Constantine's tardy and somewhat dubious conversion made Christianity in the end the state religion of Rome; the Galilean had triumphed. Now for two hundred years the story of Jerusalem is part of the political and ecclesiastical history of the Eastern empire. The mother Church of Jerusalem had long since perished but Christianity came back to possess the city from which

both the Jew and the Roman had sought to shut it out. Jerusalem was made a patriarchate,—that is, one of the five centres of ecclesiastical administration of which Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople were the other four,—though the Patriarch of Jerusalem had no very great territory to administer. Jerusalem was given this honour rather through her association with Christian history than because of her political importance. In the beginning of the seventh century, A. D. 614–15, Jerusalem was besieged, captured and sacked by an army of Persians, reinforced by the Jews of the East summoned to an holy war against Christian unbelievers. Long before this the temples of the Romans had given place to Christian churches, the Churches of Helena, Constantine, of the Holy Sepulchre, of the Resurrection, and many others. They were now burnt or ruined. The ancient treasures of the city had been the gold and silver gathered in the temple service. The treasures now were the gifts left by Christian pilgrims and the relics of the Crucifixion, the

Saints and the Martyrs. These were destroyed or taken away and Jerusalem again left desolate. The cross found by Helena and believed to be the true cross was taken to the Persian capital where it was kept and worshipped by the Christian wife of the Persian king.

But a new power was rising in the East. Over against the decadent faith of Eastern Christianity Mohammed set his austere religion, a strange mingling of greatness and weakness but possessing a power of appeal which has made it one of the chief missionary faiths of the world. His followers set out to establish it by the sword. They swept as by fire the regions in which Christianity was born and where it won its first triumphs, —swept them bare of every suggestion of the Christian faith. Mohammedanism possessed itself of Western Asia, conquered Egypt and Northern Africa, crossed by Gibraltar into Europe, passed through Spain and over the Pyrenees and was not halted until it had reached the very heart of France. In 637 A. D. Jerusalem was taken by the Moslems

and of all its manifold captures, save its capture by the English, this, to the credit of the Arab let it be said, was the least bloody and tragic. The Christians were allowed to keep their old churches, though not to build new ones. They were forbidden to shut their church doors to any, whether Christian or Mohammedan. They might only toll their bells, not ring them. There were to be no crosses in the churches nor was the cross to be shown publicly in the streets. They were reminded in petty and irritating ways that they were a subject people, but the Caliphs gave them nevertheless "an assurance of protection in their lives and fortunes and the uses of their churches and the exercise of their religion"; and more than that, the Caliphs kept their promise.

The fortunes of Jerusalem after its capture in 637 are for 400 years a part of the history of Mohammedanism in Western Asia. The city was involved in the Moslem civil wars, but though the seat of Mohammedan administration passed from Damascus to Baghdad and from Baghdad to Egypt, there was

little actual change in Jerusalem, save such changes as time brings with it of growth, decay and the sequence of the generations. For the West these 400 years are, for the most part, centuries of darkness, anarchy and the travail of a new world displacing the ancient Roman order. It is not easy to anticipate what would have become of Western civilization had not Charlemagne through his military genius, his administrative ability and his love for learning, strengthened and sheltered for a little the light-giving forces which were all the while so nearly eclipsed. We know now that what he really did was to clear in central Europe a space for the France and Germany of the future, and so to release great national forces. What he thought himself to be doing was to restore the glory of ancient Rome. So blindly sometimes do the best and greatest of men do their work. We discover in the partition treaty of Verdun (what associations that name carries!) by which the empire of Charlemagne was divided among his grandsons, the first definite use in litera-

ture or diplomacy of the French and German languages. Mighty changes had already accomplished themselves in the darkness, for the birth of a new language is one of the great achievements of the human spirit and a force which cannot be overestimated in history and all human affairs. None the less the forces of nationality were slow in realizing and asserting themselves. There were none to continue what Charlemagne began, and the times that followed were the blackest in the history of Europe. Nowhere was there order, security, virtue or constructive power. The Church itself shares the degradation of the time and the Papacy is shamed with the rest.

In the tenth century Europe was possessed by a great despair. Men could see no way at all out of their troubles and believed that the end of the world was at hand. The year 1000 was to bring the final destruction of an order which had in it apparently nothing either good or enduring and those who had given up all hope of a better world daily searched the skies for the signs of the com-

ing of their Lord. Europe was frightfully poor and a series of unfruitful seasons added to the general misery. The wolves came back again to possess the fields from which they had been driven out and there are hints of cannibalism itself. But the year 1000 passed and left the world still undestroyed. The skies grew kind again and the fields renewed their yield. Christendom shook itself free of its fears and began to live. It would be hard to find in the long course of human history two centuries more significant, more pregnant with vast issues or more fascinating than the eleventh and twelfth. They constituted one of those rare periods of rebirth in which great energies of body, mind and soul worked towards great ends, are moved by mighty ideals and together make deathless contributions to history. We see now that the preceding centuries had really been times of gestation and that their very darkness was fertile. The eleventh and twelfth centuries are charged with all the energy of races just beginning to come to consciousness, unwearied and unwasted.

Men possessed an abounding life which made them tireless fighters, splendid builders, keen and curious thinkers. Michelet says that the eleventh century is the age of pilgrims; "man is by birth a pilgrim; it has been long since he set out and I do not know when he shall reach his goal. It needs no great thing to put him in action. Nature calls him, love calls him, his native land or his faith." Truth, also, calls him and unseen and eternal things and we shall not understand the Middle Ages unless we understand the strange mysticism in answer to which they sought beyond all the cities of time, the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God; nor until we understand how their theology, which seems to us to have been so sterile, was really a great adventure of their souls seeking in the divine will shelter and authority. Nor must we underestimate the real creative power of their thought. We need to remember how the first great century of the Crusades was also the century of Bernard and Abelard, each one of them a crusader and each incar-

nating one of the two great contradictory impulses which struggle together in the medieval nature. Abelard is the champion of reason, the voice of human nature conscious of its worth and dignity, claiming for itself the right to live and think and act and finding in its own desires some revelation also of the will of God for man. In his truer and more worthy moments, Abelard stands more nearly face to face with reality than any other of the figures of that great time, and even the weakness through which he fell is but another aspect of his strength. He was a protagonist of the Spirit of God, as immanent in life and light, not far from any one of us, honoured in honest thought and served in the freedom of the soul. He gathered about him first in the cathedral schools of Notre Dame, afterwards on the slopes of Mount Ste. Genevieve, and lastly in the hermitage of the Paraclete, thousands of the youths of Europe, called together by his glowing eloquence, his clear insight, and above all by the magnetism of his kindling personality, themselves crusaders asking only

to be shown that they might believe, to be taught that they might live, and willing to leave all behind them for the sake of truth. Martin says in a great sentence that when Abelard, "driven out of Paris, established himself upon the hill now rich in so many associations, which slopes down to the Seine, under the very walls of the city, that it was intelligence herself knocking at the gates of the future capital of civilization"; and Remusat remarks "that this hill, destined to become as it were the Mount Sinai of university teaching, was then an asylum where the spirit of independence sheltered itself." The modern university system dates from Abelard and his unruly followers outside the walls of Paris. Towards the end of his stormy life, Abelard, driven far from Paris, built for himself a lodge in the wilderness, but there, also, the crusaders of truth and reason followed him and his hermitage became a city. The name which he gave it, the Oratory of the Comforter, the Paraclete, the One within call, is also highly significant, for it represents, I repeat, the dim apprehension of God as

sharing also the restlessness of the secular life and consecrating not alone the Cathedral and the Monastery but all places of human action and fellowship.

St. Bernard stands for everything which Abelard slighted, and affirms everything which Abelard denies. He possessed in perhaps a higher and more compelling way the supreme attraction of personality. He sought the fullness of life through the denial of all the senses. He was a spiritual flame, a light and heat which shone through a body too frail to contain the driving impulses of his soul. Abelard called the youth of Europe to the crusades of reason and freedom. Bernard called the youth of Europe to the crusades of faith and self-denial. Abelard built the hermitage of the Paraclete, Bernard the Monastery of the Valley of Bitterness, and these two men divided between them the spiritual and intellectual empire of their time. Mothers hid their sons that they might not follow Bernard into the monastery, and, says Martin, "he would, if he could have had his way, have changed the world

into a universal convent and forced God, Himself, to give the signal of its termination." We cannot understand the Crusades, unless we understand the immense power of response to the ideal which lay at the heart of the Middle Ages, and which moved the life of the time in tidal waves, now in this direction, now in that. Nor can we understand the Crusades unless we understand chivalry, the organization in terms of spiritual enthusiasm, that is, of the passion for combat which is so greatly distinctive of the time. The sons of the Middle Ages were born warriors as they were born religious enthusiasts. They combined their religion and their love of fighting in their chivalry. Chivalry softened, heightened, idealized their warlike tendencies and above all subordinated them to high ends. If ever any warrior could have truly said that his sword was bathed in heaven it was the newly-made medieval knight, who, after his hours of vigil before the high altar of the church and his morning time of taking piece by piece his armour from the hands of his feudal superior,

rode out fully caparisoned to wave his sword in the sunlight and proclaim himself the champion of all the oppressed. In effect the restlessness of the time predisposed the Europe of the early Middle Ages towards adventure, men's faith and mysticism made them naturally seek an end connected with religion, and their very baptism into the warrior's spirit drove them towards hardship and danger as the waters seek the sea. By one of the greatest coincidences in history, it was the call of an oppressed Jerusalem which gave unity to these outstanding medieval qualities and inaugurated a tidal movement which broke in successive waves against the very walls of the city.

In 1076, Jerusalem was captured by the Seljukian Turks. We should have to go into the heart of Asia itself to account for this. We know that in answer to obscure causes, it may be the change of climate which has made a desert of the high plains where now we find the sand-covered ruins of ancient cities, it may be through such restlessness as stirred Europe from centre to circumference,

the East poured itself out in successive waves against the West as the West against the East, and it was along the limestone ridges of Palestine that these two movements, drawn from such far-off sources, met and mingled. If one may press one's figure, Jerusalem was as it were a rock set at the meeting place of the seas against which the last great waves of elemental storms dashed their hostile spray. But the part of Jerusalem in all this was no accident. The East and the West met about Jerusalem because Jerusalem, which held holy meanings for the West, called Europe to its defense. Along with such pilgrimages after reason and faith as Abelard and Bernard created and directed, there had been for long in Europe quite literal pilgrimages to the holy places. Sometimes the pilgrims went for adventure and sometimes for penance, but more often that they might, themselves, walk the streets which Jesus trod, gaze upon the hill of the Cross, kneel before the empty tomb and worship at the place of the Nativity. The Mohammedans did not at first oppress these

pilgrims, but rather welcomed them. They taxed them, it is true, but they defended them in turn, made the roads safe, and kept their shrines secure. Very likely trade had something to do with this but not all. The Mohammedans also were pilgrims; they too had their sacred shrines and could understand the faith of those who came from afar to kneel at some holy place. But the new conquerors of Jerusalem were a people of a different sort, cruel and fanatical. They desecrated the Christian shrines and oppressed the pilgrims who began to carry back to Europe such reports of their own oppression and the defilement of the holy places, as moved all who heard to righteous anger. Thus the Crusades began.

The Crusades are, perhaps, the most massive single fact in European history, if a movement which extended over 200 years and involved such a variety of forces can be called a single fact. We may, first of all, think of them as one great interwoven expression of the spirit of medievalism, and then go on to consider some of their out-

standing characteristics. Directly we begin to do this, we see that the Crusades are vastly more than the endeavour of a militant Christianity to possess again the shrines of Palestine, and to establish the standard of the Cross above "those holy fields, . . . over whose acres walked those blessed feet, . . . nailed for our advantage on the bitter Cross." They were one of the four great attempts of the Western world to impose its will upon the East, carry Europe beyond the Dardanelles and maintain it there. Alexander the Great was the first who sought to accomplish this and the East, in the end, came back, though deeply changed by its contact with Greek civilization, to possess its own. Rome sought to plant her eagles in Asia Minor and succeeded for a little, but in the end the East came back once more to possess its own. The Crusades were the third attempt, and the fourth is being made to-day by the British, who are working their way northward from Jerusalem towards Constantinople. The whole movement from Alexander's time to our own has been really a

kind of strategic defense of Western civilization. Europe seems always to have felt instinctively that the West could best be guarded by possessing the hinterland beyond the Bosphorus. Martin sees in the Crusades the best defense which Europe could possibly have offered to the menace of the Turk and is persuaded that the Seljukian Turks would have taken Constantinople and overrun eastern Europe 400 years before Constantinople was really captured, had it not been for the Crusades. They broke the force of the Turkish offensive and although they failed in what they definitely sought, they held back for a full two hundred years the tide of invasion which might have altered the whole course of European history. By that time, the Seljukian Turk had spent himself and the West was free from any kind of threat from the East for two centuries more. When Constantinople was at last captured, the force of Europe was so organized, that, although Mohammedanism reached the very walls of Vienna, it was not able so to establish itself as seriously to affect

the course of Western civilization. As one traces the course of European history and follows the play of cause and effect down the centuries, we may well wonder what might have been, had Latin Europe, in the twelfth century, really made of Palestine a buffer-state between the East and the West. That was always possible. The weakness and division of the crusaders themselves defeated their own endeavour and in their defeat they left open a road between the uplands of Asia and the eastern gate of Europe.

In the fullness of time the Ottoman Turk travelled that road and entered that gate. He brought into Europe elements which Western civilization could neither assimilate nor dislodge. Then "the Eastern question" crossed the Bosphorus and its far-flung consequences have brought ruin to Flanders and northern France, and are involving Europe and America in a common tragedy. The Crusades were, first of all, an attempt to meet "the Eastern question" in the East. So much the discriminating historian now sees, but the Europe of the First Crusade was

largely unconscious of the vast significance of what was being done. True, Constantinople threatened by the black tents planted upon the hills about her raised "a cry of terror and distress which sounded through the whole of Europe and the man of genius who was then at the head of the Catholic Church never underestimated for a moment the greatness of the peril which Christianity faced." But these are not the considerations which really called the sons of the Church to the banner of the Cross. They vowed themselves to their task because Jerusalem had been taken and its shrines profaned.

William of Tyre writes with moving simplicity of the conditions for the mending of which the whole of Western civilization poured itself out. "After having escaped a thousand chances of death and crossed many hostile countries, the Pilgrims who reached at last the gates of the Holy City were not able to enter without paying, each one, a piece of gold for tribute to the infidel, and having lost all upon the road and having only by the barest chance come to the city

alive, the greater part of them had nothing with which to pay. They had no choice then but to remain outside the city walls, asking in vain permission to enter. Stripped bare of everything, they had no choice save to die of hunger or misery. Those who were able to pay the tax and enter Jerusalem were subject to every kind of danger. They were spit upon, beaten or even massacred by the pagans. To crown all, the churches kept in repair with great difficulty were each day subject to violent outrages. During the divine service the infidels entering with furious cries would seat themselves even upon the altars with no respect for the sanctuary. They overturned the cups which held the blood of Christ, trod the holy vessels under their feet, broke the marbles and heaped injury and insult upon the priests. The Patriarch of Jerusalem was himself treated by them as one vile and abject. They took him by the beard or the hair, threw him out of his chair and dragged him on the ground. Upon occasion they put him in a dungeon as though he were a slave, for no other

reason than to trouble the people through the suffering of their Shepherd. At a time when the city, so loved of God, was subject to so many sorrows, there happened to be among those who came to visit the holy places a hermit called Peter, born in France and the Bishopric of Amiens. He was a little man, miserable in his bodily state, but a great soul dwelt in his mean body. His spirit was ready and his eye piercing, his look penetrating and sweet, and he spoke with eloquence. Peter was introduced by a friend to the Patriarch Simeon, who, recognizing in him a certain force and experience, confided in him without reserve and laid before him all the calamities which waited upon the servants of God dwelling in the Holy City."

Few interviews have been more momentous in their outcome, for Peter charged himself to arouse Europe and succeeded in his self-appointed task. "On fire with divine zeal, he goes everywhere in Italy, crosses the Alps, visits all the Princes of France, preaches, thunders upon the need there was that the places made glorious by the presence

of the Lord should no longer remain exposed to the profanation of the infidels. He was not content with admonishing Princes; everywhere he aroused the poor and men of low estate no less than the great lords and the knights." In 1095, Pope Urban the second summoned the Church to the Council of Clermont. The Council met on St. Martin's Day, the 18th of November. Fourteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, ninety abbots, thousands of knights and an innumerable multitude of people crowded the valley and the hills which surround Clermont. For the first time in her history since the fall of Rome, Europe came to a common consciousness and that at the bidding of her outraged faith. When we remember again the temper of those there gathered together, the passion of their faith, their mysticism, their restlessness, their longing for adventure and their wholly warlike spirit, we see how what followed was as inevitable as gravitation. All that had been in gestation through the Dark Ages there came to birth. Pope Urban played upon that multitude as a musi-

cian upon his organ. He quoted with a new and mighty force the old words of Jesus "whoever shall leave for my sake, his house or his brothers or his sisters, or his father or his mother, or his wife or his children, or his lands, shall receive in this present time one hundred fold and shall have for his inheritance eternal life." "Take the road to the holy sepulchre, O sons of France, and set out assured of an imperishable glory which awaits you in the realm of the skies."

France could not hear such words as these without response. When Detaille was painting upon the walls of the choir in the Pantheon at Paris the mighty company of the sons of France who have spent themselves through the centuries for La Gloire, he should have put somewhere in the heart of those endless ranks the men who answered Pope Urban at Clermont with a shout which rocked the earth and sky, "God wills it, God wills it." Again and again some human shouting has, as it were, shaken the earth, but was there ever any human cry, I wonder, which has wakened such mighty

echoes as the cry of the men who then and there began the Crusades? There is no room or occasion here to follow that movement in detail. The First Crusade began in 1096 and the movement did not entirely spend itself until 1299, almost exactly two centuries later. Central and Southern Europe launched the earlier Crusades but the movement finally gathered into itself the whole of Germany, Denmark and England. In the main, the crusaders followed three roads: the valley of the Danube, the roads which skirt the northern Adriatic, and the path of the sea. The last Crusades drove at Egypt and even northern Africa in the attempt to reach the seats of Mohammedan administration. The whole movement, simple as it is when we stand far enough back from it to see its massive outlines, was never simple at all in detail. The Crusades involved preparations which altered the economic balance of Europe. The great barons particularly pledged everything which they possessed in order to fit out their followers. Many of them never came back at all. Those who did, came

back impoverished and their power was never thereafter fully restored. Far-reaching consequences were involved in all this; the growth of cities, the growth of municipal power, some added measure of liberty for the common people and an increase in the spirit of democracy, but above all the deepening of the sense of nationality with the king as the head and symbol of the nation. There was after the Crusades a much greater centralization of power in the European monarchies than before. Industry and commerce profited, and Italy, since her great cities, Genoa and Venice particularly, furnished the ships for the crusaders, increased mightily in sea power. We may date the beginnings of the rich city states of Italy from this period. The Crusades involved also endless questions of adjustment between the European states and above all, between Latin Europe and Constantinople. The Greek Emperor, though he had asked the help of Latin Christianity against the Turk, received far more than he asked, and in the end Constantinople suffered as much from the de-

fenders of the faith as she later suffered from the Ottoman Turks. The relation between the crusaders and Constantinople is a tangled web of violence, trickery and deceit.

In the main, there are seven main movements; the first is the Crusade of the great Barons, Godfrey the foremost of them all. Godfrey and his followers after immense labours, still more immense losses, and strange alternations of despair and unconquerable exaltation, halted first in Constantinople, then at Nicæa, and then for long under the walls of Antioch, came at last to the far-sought city and after a month's siege forced an entrance by storm. Those who finally passed through the breaches in its walls were but a handful of those who had set out. Hardly one in twenty survived the chances of the expedition to worship at the shrines which had cost so great a price. Jerusalem was thereafter, for the better part of a century, a little Latin kingdom with Godfrey for the first and worthiest of its kings and the full weight of feudal organization imposed upon Palestine. There were

seneschals, constables, marshals and chamberlains, a Baron of Jaffa, a Prince of Galilee and Lords of Bethlehem and Nazareth. There were no foundations, economic and social, up and down the limestone ridges of Palestine strong enough to bear a weight like this. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was from the first a beleaguered state and save for a wisdom and statesmanship which Europe did not then even begin to possess, its downfall was sure and only the divisions among the Mohammedans themselves postponed its recapture. In 1187 Saladin won it back and thereafter the Mohammedans never lost it save for brief intervals.

The Second Crusade was an expedition of support led by King Conrad of Germany and Louis the Seventh of France. St. Bernard was the moving spirit in launching this second expedition, doing what Peter the Hermit had done but with more compelling power. The Second Crusade ended in utter shame and ignominy. "So vast had been the drain of population in this holy war that about one man was left to seven women and now

it was known that the fathers, the husbands and the sons, or the brothers of these women would never see their homes any more. Their cry of anguish charged Bernard with sending them forth on an errand on which they had done absolutely nothing and had reaped only wretchedness and disgrace." The Third Crusade was to deliver the city. When the West heard that it had been taken, Christendom forgot the losses of their own country to weep over Jerusalem and repented in sackcloth and ashes. The host now armed was led by men whose names still sound across the years, the great kings of medieval Europe, Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Plantagenet and Philip Augustus of France; but alas, in this multitude of kings there was no wisdom. The siege of Acre drained their power and Frederick Barbarossa was drowned in a little river of Asia Minor, though his countrymen refused to believe that one so great could really have perished so meanly. For centuries after Germany was persuaded that the red-bearded emperor slept an enchanted sleep

with his knights in the heart of the Kyffäuser, waiting, when the ravens should cease to hover around the peak, to descend with his crusaders and bring back his power to Germany. Philip Augustus went back to France with but a handful of his knights, and Richard the Lion Hearted wandered through Europe as an exile, filling in legend a far nobler place than he had ever filled in life.

The Fifth Crusade was ruined by the treason of the Venetians and ended not in the conquest of Jerusalem but in the plunder of Constantinople. Frederick the Second, last and most brilliant of the Hohenstaufen upon whom the doom of his house fell with full power, led the Sixth Crusade. He succeeded by treaty rather than conquest in regaining the Holy City but the Papacy hated him. It would not take Jerusalem from his hands as a gift and the city was soon lost. The Seventh Crusade is inseparably associated with the name and memory of one of the greatest of French kings, one of the gentlest and most devout of those who have ever

worn a crown, St. Louis, who judged his people as a father, who built the Sainte-Chapelle, a priceless shrine for the Crown of Thorns, who suffered long in the deltas of the Nile and who died at last in a second expedition as he wished to die, seeking the sepulchre of his Lord, though far, far from the Holy Land; for he died at Tunis. In 1299, the Knights Templar acting with certain Mongolian forces, captured many Syrian cities, Damascus among them, entered Jerusalem in triumph, visited the Holy Sepulchre and celebrated Easter on Mount Zion. But as there was no support behind the movement, Jerusalem was lost and the Crusades ended.

What shall we say of a movement which began in Clermont in 1095 and ended on Easter day 1299—a movement which whitened every road between the Alps and the Dead Sea with the bones of pilgrims and warriors and which bled Europe for 200 years? The West probably lost a larger proportion of its population through the wars of the Crusades and the pestilence and famine incident thereto than it ever lost be-

fore or since. Historians do not agree in any verdict. Some of them believe the Crusades, foredoomed to failure, to have been a colossal folly in which the strongest and best of the racial stock of central Europe particularly was so exhausted that we are all the descendants of second-rate men and women. Beyond debate, Europe burnt herself out in these fires. When the Crusades were done, the great spiritual, intellectual and artistic impulses which are the glory of medievalism and whose broken fragments are still our richest treasure, were exhausted. From the end of the Crusades until the Renaissance, European history is increasingly mean, cruel and sterile. There must be some connection between the waste of the Crusades and the decay which followed. But this is not the whole story. The contact between the East and the West was rich in far-reaching consequences. The Arabian civilization taught the Latin civilization many things which have not been forgotten. Constantinople and eastern Europe were saved for two centuries more and the social structure of western

Europe was so altered as greatly to strengthen centralized government and at the same time to take something of the weight of feudalism from the back of the average man.

I, myself, find the real secret of the flowering out of medievalism not in the Crusades themselves, but in the deeper, richer spirit of which the Crusades were but one experience, and I am persuaded that the Crusades impoverished quite as much as they enriched the spirit of the Middle Ages. They do not bear close examination. They reveal an almost inconceivable amount of folly and even crime when you study them near-to, but in the mass they are nobly imposing. They represent an ardour, a passion for high ends and a moving self-commitment to ideal causes at the bidding of faith and adoration of which only the men of the Middle Ages seem to have been capable. They have given a new meaning to chivalry and a glory strangely shot through with shadow to our common humanity. Their traditions have enriched literature and their memory is

an inspiration. Since the days of the Crusades, we have never quite ceased to be crusaders. Every great loyalty, possible or impossible, to which men have since answered has been in some fashion rebaptized in that first crusading spirit. Every holy and desperate cause which summons us to high adventure gains reinforcement from the memory of the first great adventure of Christian Europe when the children of the Cross poured out all that they were and that they possessed, if only they might win Jerusalem for their Lord Whom Jerusalem rejected and see with dim eyes the manger of His Nativity, the hill of His Crucifixion, and the rock-hewn Tomb which could not contain Him. Thus it was Jerusalem which gave the Crusades their occasion and offered to the restless, questing, mystic warriors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a definite object for which they might battle and a shrine which they might die to possess.

The story of Jerusalem after the Crusades seems commonplace; two great lights had fallen over that gray, old city, and two great

lights had darkened and left only the shadow behind. The first was the light of a spiritual vision revealed through its prophets and become divine in Jesus Christ. Jerusalem rejected Him and that light never rose again. The second was the fierce light of the devotion of the warriors of medieval Europe. They watered its streets with their blood, possessed it for a moment, then lost it; but such was the high, dramatic quality of their endeavour to possess it that all which follows is drab and ordinary.

When the power of the Seljukian Turks had spent itself and Mohammed and Egypt could no longer hold Palestine, the Ottoman Turk fell heir to the city and he and his descendants kept it until yesterday when the English captured it and it came once more under the dominion of a Christian power. But what the future holds for Jerusalem, no man may now say. In the 2,900 years between 1000 B. C. and 1918 A. D. Jerusalem has been besieged and captured twenty-four times. Its walls have again and again been levelled, its very site has been plowed and

sown with salt. It has belonged to the ancient Canaanite, to the Jew, to the Greek, to the Roman, to the Syrian, to the Chaldean, to the Arab, to the Turk, to Latin Europe, and to England. Blood enough has been shed there to brim all its reservoirs, deeds enough of shame and glory have been done there to make a record of mingled light and darkness never to be forgotten. It is associated with the faith of the Jew, the fanaticism of the Mohammedan and the adoration of the Christian. All the great religions, the great cultures, the great races have met before its walls and striven to possess it. Is there any story in human history like the story of Jerusalem?

VI

Jerusalem, the Hope of the Soul

VI

JERUSALEM, THE HOPE OF THE SOUL

WE have now followed to our own time the dramatic story of the changing fortunes of Jerusalem. If the city had no great religious associations, nor any meaning at all for the high enterprises of the spirit, the story of Jerusalem would still remain an absorbing chapter of history, for few cities of the world have been so long in the full current of great historical movements. Jerusalem has never been the seat of any great administration, nor had any long empire save in the regions of the spirit, but it has, none the less, stood at the meeting-place of the empires. Its fortunes were involved from the morning of history in any alteration of the balance of power in Western Asia, and equally in any war between Asia and Europe. Jerusalem would have been far more secure and its story far

less fascinating had the city been at the heart of some stable and easily defended country and not situated as it is on a frontier which really involves the meeting of three continents.

This is the outstanding fact which controls, historically speaking, the whole course of Palestinian history. History always has a strongly defined geographical control but geography alone does not make history unless indeed we add thereto the geography of the soul. We have seen how the passion of the Jew for his capital city established it in the idealism of a race which remembers more tenaciously and hopes more persistently than any other race in the world. No small part of the glory and tragedy of history is due to the determination of exiled peoples to return to their motherlands or to the purpose of a state to win again for itself lost provinces. Alsace and Lorraine have involved France and Germany for 300 years, but there is, I think, no other instance of the passion of a race for what it has made its own through long use, profound association,

battle, worship and administration comparable with the passion of the Jew for Jerusalem.

Much else is also involved, for the patriotism of the Jew was one aspect of his religion; his prophets were always interpreting the fortunes of the state in terms of the love or justice of their God and always just as inevitably somehow testing the love and justice of God by the fortunes of the state. The history of Jerusalem, therefore, in every period from the first of the prophets till the ministry of Jesus Christ has its spiritual reactions. That is to say, the development of the Hebrew faith and every aspect and utterance of it were vitally affected by the changing fortunes of Jerusalem. There are regions in which speculations as to what might have been have little force because there is no way of testing the soundness of one's conclusion, but humanly speaking one must believe that without the constant menace of Assyria, Babylon or Egypt, without the threat of invading tides which washed always around the frontiers of the Hebrew state, broke

more than once against the walls of their capital and from time to time ran red through streets grown old in battle, without captivity and bitterly endured exile and the never surrendered hope of deliverance therefrom, we should never have had the great messages of the prophets or the grave music of the Psalms, or the deathless voices of assurance in which ever since the sorely tried have found their comfort and inspiration.

These and like forces made Jerusalem what it was and have given it a meaning for us to be measured only by the wealth and meaning of religion itself, but the story of Jerusalem does not end with the records of time; it projects itself into the expectations of eternity. Jerusalem owes half its wonder to the tenacity of a memory which would not forget it and to the long action and reaction between faith and experience as voiced by the great Hebrew prophets. It owes the other half of its wonder to a deeply held and often adjourned but never surrendered hope which has made the city the symbol of Christian idealism and the far-sought refuge

in another world of the weary and heavy-laden. The old Jerusalem is a battle-scarred city which has so covered the face of the hills upon which it was originally built with the waste of manifold destruction and rebuilding, that the very contour of its site has been altered and there are fifty feet of waste between the foundations of the city to-day and the ancient city of David. But the new Jerusalem with its walls of twelve manner of precious stones and its gates of pearl is lifted four square against the horizons of eternity unscarred by any battle, not to be darkened by any sorrow, built by the power of hope upon the foundations of faith. How has it come to pass that an oriental city of no great size or power has become the dearest symbol of the holiest expectations which men have ever entertained? To answer that question we need to follow in some detail the development of the idealism which has taken Jerusalem for its symbol. It is no easy task to do this, for it involves so much. That time-worn phrase, "the New Jerusalem," is, as it were, a kind of window through which we

look not only into history itself but deep into the human heart.

The old Jerusalem looks abroad from its commanding site to far horizons but the horizons which lie about the New Jerusalem are vaster still. For the New Jerusalem is bounded by the wonder and mystery of life. Children of time and change as we are, we have never accepted our temporal state without seeking to follow it back to its sources and on to its consummations. We are always searching the past for some knowledge of that from which we set out, we are always searching the future for some disclosure of the end of our journey. So every race and every faith has its doctrine of first things and last things. We have never accepted death as any satisfying end of the journey of life and have sought beyond that shadow the fulfillment of our hopes and the readjustment of trying conditions. Ideas of reward and punishment have always been involved in any conception of the hereafter, for our race has always felt instinctively that morality is of the nature of things and that

we can never strike a satisfactory moral balance if we have time alone to deal with. Our race has therefore always ascribed some judicial powers to whatever gods we have worshipped and established their tribunals beyond the bournes of time and space. These ideas have of course been very often most simply held and most crudely expressed but they are not wholly wanting even among savage peoples. Some idea, too, of a final catastrophe has been widely held. "The Andaman islanders believe that spirits depart from souls, go to a gloomy jungle below the earth which is flat, but the time will come which will cause the world to turn over, the living will perish and change places with the dead. Spirits will be reunited with souls and live on a renewed earth in which sickness and death will be unknown. Many American tribes expected a catastrophic end of all things." The Mexican, the Eskimo, the Peruvian, have all shared some such hope as this. The Celtic folk, in legends misty as the winds which blow in from northern seas, tell of islands rich in happi-

ness, where the warrior may lay down his armour, and the bard find moving music for his harp. The Scandinavian has his hall of heroes from which his warriors ride out every morning to joyous battle and return at night without a scar, and also his expectation of the twilight of the gods when the forces of evil and darkness long restrained will at last break loose to have their way even with the high gods themselves, and after that of a new earth with green meadows and fields which bring forth without labour, with even the gods reborn. There is no need to multiply such illustrations. They belong, I say, to all races and all times. They are the creations of an instinctive faith which accepts neither death nor darkness, nor any kind of defeat as final. But the Jew was richer in such a faith than any other people.

As we trace the evolution of the New Jerusalem we are fortunate in being able to study aspect by aspect the growth of a great eschatology and to discover its influence upon Christian idealism. All Jewish proph-

ecy, as we have seen, involved reward and retribution, though to begin with all this was simply conceived. There is in earlier Hebrew history no trace of judgment beyond death. Death itself is judgment, bitter only as death is premature. The immortality of the Ninetieth Psalm is at best but a corporate immortality. Individuals come and go "for when thou art angry all our days are gone, we bring our years to an end as a tale that is told." Only the might of God endures. The only hope a man may have of living is in those who follow him. Life itself and the field of history are for the earlier Hebrew prophet and psalmist the field in which the justice and love of God must operate, and if God's justice is not made manifest in the felicity of the devout and the misfortune of the wicked, then the Hebrew moralist is sadly perplexed. The Book of Job tells us that. At the widest the fortunes of the nations test the goodness of God. The rewards of obedience are to be found in national prosperity, the punishment of disobedience is national adversity and time is

the stage for it all. Defeat and captivity are always therefore retributive. The restoration of the nation and the rebuilding of its capital city mark the signal mercy of a forgiving God.

With deepening experience and a richer faith, other elements begin to enter in and the doctrine of last things involves something more than time, though it is fair to say that even in the later Hebrew prophets the doctrine of last things does not involve eternity as we conceive it. For we set the eternal squarely over against the temporal, while the Hebrew prophet affirmed rather a series of ages indefinite in duration but not charged with the full content of the eternal. Jewish love and faith carried the hope of a restored Jerusalem along with it as the doctrine of last things grew vaster and more complex. Jerusalem is not only to be rebuilt and become the capital city of a great Jewish state, it is to become the glory of the whole earth. "Arise, shine; for thy light is come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee, . . . whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated,

so that no man went through thee; I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood, brass, and for stones, iron; I will also make thy officers peace and thine exactors righteousness. Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise. The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory." So the New Jerusalem rises like the dawn. How much of all this is symbolism and how much literal expectation in the mind of the great prophet of the Exile we shall never know, but those who followed him, and especially those who wrote much upon last things in the bitter times before and after Judas Maccabeus, took it all literally and added much. "Nature will be changed, the land will become marvellously fertile and well-watered. There will be no more evil beasts or else the lion and the lamb will lie down together. All human ills will be done away

and there will be no more weeping, nor sorrow, nor sighing." This expanding expectation involves two conceptions: first, the Day of the Lord, a day, that is, when by the interposition of His great might God will directly overthrow the enemies of His people and establish their empire by His own weapons; moreover, since there were many righteous dead who had sought and sought in vain their deliverance, the Divine Justice must also include them; the Day of the Lord, therefore, involves the Day of Resurrection. Here we have the full emergence of the conception of the last judgment with great cosmic aspects. Heaven and earth are to be overturned, that the Jew may come to his own again and his God be vindicated. In the measure that the hope itself was adjourned, it was the more passionately clung to. As men dwelt upon the ways in which God must come to deliver them, they filled the hope of His deliverance with signs and wonders and the mighty discomfiture of His foes. The day of deliverance involved also the expectation of a Deliverer and so their

faith in a Messiah which had long lain at the very heart of all Jewish prophecy comes clearly into light, and the Messiah Himself is invested with all the qualities of majesty and power which the hard-beset would dream of in one coming, conquering and to conquer. The one thing they never expected was that He should come as a carpenter out of Nazareth, and be crucified upon a cross which they themselves had planted. In general this literature of last things shows three well defined notions of the future, though these notions do not always agree. First, "continuing the prophetic conception, there is judgment followed by the establishment of a blissful earth or a renewed earth. Second, the kingdom is temporary and at its close judgment begins followed by the dawn of an eternal world. Third, no kingdom on earth but an imminent future kingdom in the Other-World."

The Jewish mind loved strange symbols, wheels within wheels, and beasts and horns; a symbolism which puzzles the Occidental mind and has always left room for capri-

cious interpretations. The Jewish mind also loved to deal loosely with time, to conceive future ages in weeks of years, in seventy and multiples of seventy, in millenniums and multiples of millenniums. Here also we see a chronology so vague as to fit into almost any time or scheme and at the same time provide a way of escape when our calculations do not come true. In the end after much brooding and by the addition of elements drawn from Persia and in answer to the strange power of the human mind to build mighty systems at the bidding of its hopes and fears, especially when unchecked by the courses of experience, Jewish eschatology became one of the most complicated achievements of religious faith. It is comparable in the scope and boldness of its speculations only with that strange philosophy which the Jew and the Greek together produced in Alexandria. The practical import of it all for our purposes is that it was carried over into Christianity. It goes without saying that this would happen, for Christianity itself was born of the Jewish Messianic ex-

pectation. The life of Palestine was saturated with this expectation when Christ was born in Bethlehem, though beyond debate it was held by Mary and Elizabeth and Simeon far more simply and spiritually than by the mass of the Jewish people. Jesus spiritualized and transformed it; at least the outcome of His ministry was the spiritualization and transformation of it, though how far He Himself accepted the more widely-held belief is a question about which scholars are debating to-day as they have never done before. There is no question at all that His people rejected Him because He did not fulfill their expectations of what the Messiah must be and do. The Cross bears incontestible testimony to that; while the Gospels and the temper of the Apostles as recorded in the Acts and the Epistles bear incontestible testimony to an expectation of His speedy return. The Apostolic Church in the agony of its persecution turned for comfort and assurance to the old hope, charged with new meaning, of a supernatural deliverance and the glory of the New Jerusalem. There are many

things in the Book of Revelation which puzzle us sadly but we know that the Christians of that far-off time faced death in every fearful form with indomitable courage because they saw through the fires which consumed them, the walls of the Celestial City gleaming in the skies and the gates of pearl swung open for their reception. So Jerusalem became for the whole Christian Church a glorious symbol of the felicity of the redeemed and the stronghold of the divine love high uplifted above the bitterness of their earthly state.

The visions and prophecies of the Book of Revelation established the expectation of the New Jerusalem enduringly in the life of the Church, though little use was made of this symbolism during the first thousand years of church history. St. Augustine did, indeed, offer to the sorely tried world the hope of a spiritual empire which should succeed the temporal dominion of Rome, but his "City of God" is rather a philosophy of history than a vision of future reward. St. Augustine, moreover, anticipates the permanency

of Rome rather than the restoration of Jerusalem. His book was called out by the dismay and helplessness of Western Europe in the face of the fall of the Roman Empire, and he assures the Christian of his western world that Rome can never fall—though her temporal adminstration come to an end, God will build a spiritual city and a spiritual empire upon her time-worn foundations.

One may well wonder whether Augustine could have so written of the New Rome without the suggestion of the New Jerusalem, but none the less it is Rome and not Jerusalem which is the city of his hope and faith. Yet Augustine, with all his authority, was not great enough to supplant the expectation of a New Jerusalem with the expectation of a New Rome, for the "City of God" lay almost wholly upon the surface of Western thought. Augustine influenced his world in great and manifold ways, but he influenced it less through what is perhaps the most philosophical and deeply reasoned of his books, than by anything else he did.

We have already seen how thick a dark-

ness fell upon Europe between St. Augustine and the Crusades, and how finally Europe came to despair of any happy issue from its afflictions, and could see no hope at all except in the end of the world and the triumphant coming of the Lord. Under the expectation of the imminent end of the world, the Church turned anew to the vision of the New Jerusalem.

It is strange how history repeats itself, and with what uniformity the same situations produce the same results through the centuries. We have seen how in the far-off beginning of Hebrew prophecy, the prophets turned from the unhappy political condition of their people, from war and captivity, to the hope of their restoration, and how in their vision Jerusalem was to be rebuilt, and once more become the capital of a free and happy state. We have seen how the later prophets began to transfer their hope of deliverance from the earth to the skies, and to the dream of a heavenly City established through the saving power of God. We have seen how in the bitter times of the Neronian

persecutions, the Christians looked up from a world which tortured and slew them to the strength and security of the "City of God." Now a thousand years after, the Benedictine monks and their comrades of many other orders in medieval monasteries, much oppressed by the desolation and hopelessness of their world, sought the fulfillment of their hopes in this old old vision of the City of God. A few of the more thoughtful and highly gifted among them gave a majestic voice at once to their despair and to their faith. The noble Latin hymns "Dies Iræ" and "De Contemptu Mundi" catch up and continue after a silence of almost a thousand years the great music of the prophets, though with all the difference in the world, for the prophets were of the East and the monks of the West. The prophets belong to the pre-Christian world, the monks are the express creation of their faith and their time. Yet monk and prophet have this in common, that both seek a "city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

The prophets have left us only broken

Hebrew records of what they said, but the monks have left us their glorious Latin verse, such a voicing of the longings of the pilgrims of time for a celestial peace and the securities of eternity as have made their songs the treasure of the Christian Church. The very versification of these old Latin hymns is richly suggestive. They break all the canons of classic Latin poetry. They pay no regard at all to ancient meters. They employ rhyme as Virgil and Horace never for a moment thought of using it. "It was not," says Trench, "until the classical framework of Latin verse was wholly shattered, quantity absolutely ignored and accent substituted in its stead, that the latent powers of rhyme being at the same time evoked with Christian Latin poetry, attained the perfection which fills with astonishment all who are capable of judging as they contemplate this second birth of Latin song." There are barren stretches enough in this hymnology, but at its best it possesses a high nobility. "As a whole," says Milman, "the hymnology of the Latin Church has a singularly solemn

and majestic tone. It suggests, as it were, a grave full tone of the chant, a sustained grandeur, the glowing burst, the tender fall, the mysterious dying away of the organ." But the real appeal of these hymns is not after all so much in their great music, as in their voicing of lonelinesses and longings which are the very texture of the soul. We are highly fortunate in our English translations of them. We find them in every well chosen hymn book at the end of all the hymns, the very culmination of the wistful vision and praise of the Church. We sing them in our seasons of more solemn thought or lyric longing and their very repetition brings healing to our souls.

> "O Mother dear, Jerusalem,
> When shall I come to thee?
> When shall my sorrows have an end,
> Thy joys when shall I see?"

and even as we sing, the horizons of time fall back, the clear light of a cloudless day conquers our shadows, and it is Jerusalem the battle-scarrred which has supplied for us

the symbol of our hope. With Bernard of Cluny we sing,

> "Jerusalem, the golden, with milk and honey blest,"

or else,

> "For Thee O dear, dear Country,
> Mine eyes their vigils keep,"

and once more, it is Jerusalem set up on high which supplies to us our truest symbol of beauty, splendour and praise.

It is true that there is a note of other worldliness in all this which may unduly detach us from the duties of this present world, and too greatly root our faith and hope in that which is not to be possessed hereafter unless we secure something of the glory and wonder of it in the life which now is. This was the fault of the monk and he paid for it dearly, but none the less, we shall never build the City of God upon the foundations of time unless we possess the vision of the City, for we are citizens of two worlds, and we make this world what it ought to be only in the light of a vaster, truer order for which we

are always longing and of which we feel ourselves to be truly the citizens. Jerusalem as the hope of the soul may become a transforming force in every aspect of our common life here and now, if we are persuaded that there are eternal excellencies which lend meaning to all present endeavour, and offer to us a fullness of hope which only eternity is great enough to satisfy.

This vision of the heavenly Jerusalem as we discover it in the Book of Revelation and the hymnology of the Church affects our whole religious life. No greater sermons have ever been preached than such sermons as those of Phillips Brooks on the "City that lieth four square,"—sermons which find their texts in the hope of the Church, their inspiration in the vision of its prophets, their wealth in an apocalyptic splendour of imagery, and their application in duty and character; and when we consider how greatly these sermons and hymns voice our questions, what moving assurances they breathe across our troubled souls, and how poor our worship would be without them, we see how much we owe to

the ancient expectations of a redeemed Jerusalem, and how the voices of the great prophets echo down the years. Literature and architecture alike have been affected by this hope and its symbolism. We have built the glowing walls of the New Jerusalem into the pictured windows of our churches. The light which falls upon the high altars of the old cathedrals shines through glass in which the faith of those who made their churches so glorious have set forth their vision of the triumph of the redeemed—and the New Jerusalem is the symbol of it all.

The real power of this hope is not, of course, in the literal form in which it is expressed, but in what lies beneath and beyond it; for beneath it, I repeat, is our longing for some blessed end to the pilgrimages and battles of life, a longing which is itself a testimony that we are made not for time but for eternity, and above it all is the power which in creating these very hopes testifies to the possibility of their fulfillment. Surely God would never have left us to hope so greatly if He had meant that all our hopes

would be disappointed. The New Jerusalem with its walls of precious stones and its gates of pearl is only a symbol, but the strength, beauty, peace and security which it symbolizes are part of the quenchless demand of life and the last great gift of God to His children. Life would be poor indeed if there were no hope to call to us from beyond the hills of time, and it is the enduring glory of the old city of Jerusalem to have become so associated with the passion of Christianity for peace and immortality that we cannot think of one without the other. So Jerusalem has become deathless as the hope of deathlessness, and because it belongs to the realm of the Spirit, it endures as the Spirit endures.

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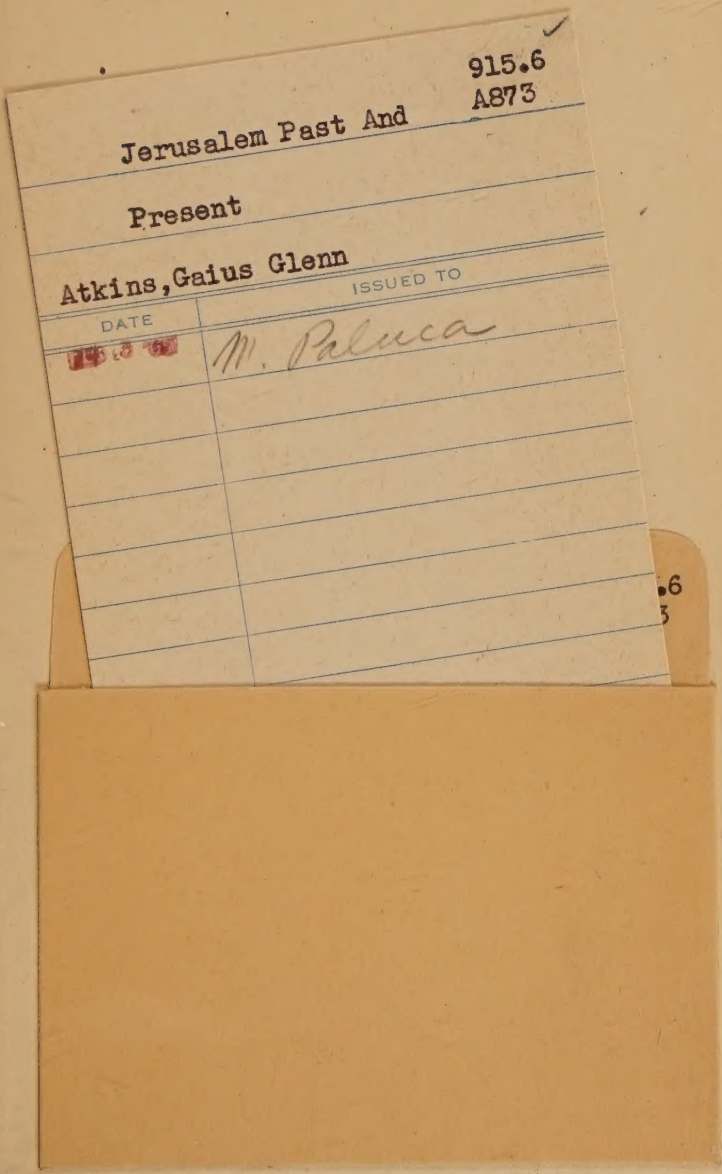
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